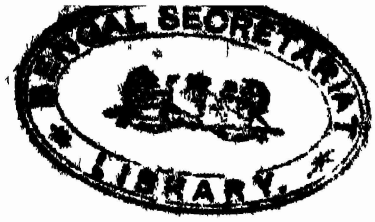

REPORT

ON THE

VILLAGE SCHOOLS

OF THE

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES

AND

THE PANJAB.

926/

BY

BABU BHUDEB MUKHOPADHYAY,

INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS.

Calcutta.

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FROM

BABU BHUDEB MUKHOPADHYAY,

Inspector of Schools,

To

W. S. ATKINSON, ESQ.,

Director of Public Instruction,

Lower Provinces.

Dated Hooghly, the 26th June, 1868.

SIR,

I THINK I need make no apology for the delay which has occurred in submitting the following report on the tour of inspection I made in the North-Western Provinces and the Panjab, from about the middle of January to about the close of March last, under Government Orders No. 5146, dated 14th December, 1867. You were pleased to direct that the submission of the report might be deferred until I had sent in my annual statistics and report for 1867-68, as well as brought up all arrears of office work which had necessarily accumulated during my absence.

II. The object of my tour will be collected from the following short sketch of the history of its origin. The Government of India, in their Financial Resolution No. 294, dated January 1867, having expressed themselves to the effect that expenditure on the village schools was exceptionally high in Bengal, I observed in the remarks I was called on to make on that paper, that, "never having visited schools in the North-Western Provinces or other parts of India, I am unable to say anything on this point from personal experience. I would wish to be deputed to those parts where cheaper systems are supposed to be at work, and I should then be in a position to compare them with the Bengal system, both as to their respective costs and results." The proposal being approved, you wrote for the necessary permission, stating, "It is very desirable, with reference to the recent strictures of the Financial Department, that we should obtain satisfactory data for comparing these schools with the village schools under certificated Gurus in Bengal, so that we may take advantage of the experience gained in other provinces, and adopt any parts of their system which seem likely to be of advantage to us." The Orders of the Government of Bengal, dated 14th, were received on the 25th December, 1867.

III. I started on the 10th January, 1868, and as I had taken your permission to see on my way some of the schools under Dr. Fallon, I stopped for seven days at Patna and Arrah, and saw a sufficient number of schools of different denominations to form a fair idea of the operations carried on in these parts. It is not for me to say anything about the schools of one of your own Divisions, excepting this much, perhaps, that my inspection of the Patna Division was highly valuable to me as a preparation for my subsequent tour in the North-West, and that I owe acknowledgments to Dr. Fallon for the opportunities he afforded me on that occasion. My proper work commenced from my arrival, on the 19th January, 1868, at Benares, the head-quarters of the 3rd Circle, North-Western Provinces. Here, under Mr. Inspector Griffith's instructions, Babu Sivaprasád, the Joint Inspector of Schools, and his deputies, showed me a large number of schools in the Benares, Allahabad, and Futtehpore districts, and afforded me ample information on all points of my enquiry from their office records. My best thanks are due to Babu Sivaprasád, whose native intelligence, and the influence he has acquired thereby in the district, enable him to more than fill the high post he holds in the Department of Public Instruction, N. W. P.

On the 28th January I arrived at Cawnpore, which is in the 2nd Inspector's Circle, N. W. Provinces, and was thankful to find that Mr. Inspector Lloyd's instructions to his deputies had preceded me, and I had every facility afforded me to see the schools in the Cawnpore, Furruckabad, Agra, and Matthura districts. I should mention here that I made a short trip to Lucknow from Cawnpore, and endeavoured to make myself acquainted with the system which is being adopted in the new Province of Oudh, as it seemed to me likely that the authorities would there avail themselves of the experience acquired in all the older provinces of the empire.

Of the first Inspectional Circle, N. W. Provinces, the head-quarters of which are at Meerut, I visited only one district—Aligurh. The Inspector of this Circle, Mr. Cann, was absent on leave to Europe at the time of my visit, and I had received no reply to the letter I had written to the gentleman who officiated for him, proposing the necessary arrangements. But my defective inspection of this Circle was more than made up by the ample information I received on several points from Raja Jaynarayan Dás, Secretary to the Aligurh Institute, and Babu Isvar Chandra Mukhopadhyay, an influential member of the same body. The information obtained from these gentlemen, to whom my best thanks are due, can hardly be called non-official, as both of them are members of those local Committees of Public Instruction which have been lately instituted by Government in the North-Western Provinces I entered the Panjab on the 27th January, when I arrived at Delhi, the virtual head-quarters of the 3rd or Umballa Circle of the Panjab. After inspecting a few schools in the neighbourhood, I proceeded to Lahore, making short stoppages at Umballa and Umritsur. To Captain Holroyd, the Director of Public Instruction, and Messrs. Alexander and Wilmot, Inspectors of the Lahore and Umballa Circles respectively, my thanks are due for the help they cordially afforded me both directly as well as by the instructions they issued to their subordinates. The time which had been judged sufficient for

the purposes of my tour expired at Lahore, and I was further assured that the other Circles of the Panjab, with head-quarters at Multan, Rawalpindi, and Dera Ismail Khan, which I had not visited, had nothing new to show in their schools after what I had already seen. I accordingly made haste to return, and arrived at my head-quarters on the 21st March after an absence of ten weeks.

IV. From the above sketch of the object and journal of my tour, two methods naturally suggest themselves for arranging the subject-matter of the present report. The first and the easiest course is to take up the several Circles visited by me one after another, either geographically, or in the order of time they were visited. The second and less easy plan appears to be to make an *à priori* division of the subject of primary education, and to put down under each head of the division such facts observed as severally come under each. I shall adopt the second course, as it has to recommend it the great advantage of leading directly to practical conclusions, although I lay myself open thereby to failure in attempting an exhaustive division of a complicated subject.

It will be scarcely worth the trouble to embody here, at the outset, the reasons which induce me to make the following division of my subject :—

CHAPTER I.—The different systems of village schools.
CHAPTER II.—The extension attained under each system.
CHAPTER III.—The standards attained.
CHAPTER IV.—The expenditure under the different systems.
CHAPTER V.—The education cess.
CHAPTER VI.—Popular interest in education.

CHAPTER I.

In the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, where from an early period British statesmen felt disposed to nationalize the administration, the land revenue was settled permanently, a body of landed aristocracy was created, and means were adopted for qualifying the people of the country for holding appointments in the public service The educational system, adopted with the view of preparing a body of Government employés, recommended itself to its authors also on another ground. It was held that superior education imparted to a few, would in course of time become self-expansive, and make itself felt by the great mass of the people. Proceeding on such grounds of expediency, immediate and remote, English statesmen adopted in Bengal that system of English education which was certainly in accordance with the course usual under the circumstances of the case.

2. The immediate effects of the measure seem to have fully justified the expectations of those who adopted it. A passion for the public service naturally springs up in a country placed under those circumstances in which a large amount of power and influence centre in the hands of public servants as

such. This passion had been long existing in Bengal, and it grew tenfold stronger after the orientalist party of educationists had lost their battle with Lord Macaulay.

3. I am aware that strong opinions have been expressed about the unhealthy character of this passion for service, and very possibly serious fears are entertained in certain quarters as to the continued progress of education under such a stimulus; but whether those opinions be just, and the fears well founded or not, the fact is undisputed, that the passion for public service, working in unison with the natural intelligence of the people, and the loyalty they have ever preferentially manifested to British rule, have achieved for Bengal that undoubted success in higher education which races not less intelligent in other parts of India have failed as yet to attain.

4. As to the question whether or not the Bengal system of education has proved self-expansive, or is likely to prove so, as compared with other systems introduced in other parts of the empire, the facts embodied in this report will, I trust, throw some light upon it.

5. Under the system of land revenue settlement which was introduced in the North-Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, the whole country assumed the aspect of one vast estate, the sole proprietor of which was the Government. Every man, woman, and child dwelling in those provinces came thus to be not only the subject, but likewise the ryot of Government. As sole Zemindar, Government introduced a uniform system of accounts, appointed to every village their own patwaris (corresponding to the Zemindari Gomastas of Bengal), as well as those superior officers called Tehsildars, who correspond to the Zemindari *Naibs*, and whose principal duty was the collection of that part of the rent which was called revenue. This state of things naturally enough suggested to the Government of the North-West Provinces a system of primary schools for the benefit of their ryots.

6. The Government Resolution No. 1089, dated 18th May, 1846, places this in a clear light, as will be seen from the following extracts :—

"Landed property in these provinces is found to be very minutely subdivided, and the existing rights in the land are of many different kinds.

"In prosecution of its duty, the Government has made great exertions to protect these rights by defining their nature and extent, and by devising a system for their complete registration.

"The efficiency of this system depends on the ability of the people to comprehend it, and to take precautions that whatever affects themselves is accurately shown in the Registers. For this purpose, it is necessary that they should be able to read and write, and should understand the elementary rules of arithmetic."

7. The assent of the Honorable the Court of Directors having been obtained, the Government of the North-Western Provinces appointed Mr. Reid to be Visitor-General of Schools, with Zillah and Pergunnah Visitors subordinate to him, with instructions which are summarised as follows :—

"It will be observed that this scheme contemplates drawing forth the energies of the people for their own improvement, rather than actually supplying to them the means of instruction at the cost of the Government. Persuasion, assistance, and encouragement are the means to be principally employed. The greatest consideration is to be shown for the feelings and prejudices of the people, and no interference is ever to be exercised where it is not desired by those who conduct the institutions. The success of the scheme will chiefly appear in the number and character of the indigenous schools which may be improved. The poor may be persuaded to combine for the support of a teacher, the rich may be encouraged to support schools for their poorer neighbours, and all the schools that are established may be assisted, improved, and brought forward."

The Visitor-General commenced operations with collecting information regarding indigenous schools in eight districts, *viz.*—

Bareilly.	Shajehanpúr.	Agra.	Matthura.
Mynpúri.	Aligurh.	Furruckabad.	Etáwa.

The statistics obtained showed that there were 1,287 indigenous schools in the above districts, with an attendance of 30,422 pupils, of whom 5,024 learnt Sanskrit, 10,797 Arabic, or Persian and Urdu, 4,703 Hindi, and 9,898 Kaithi and Sarrafi. It was found also that the teachers of most, if not all the Vernacular Schools, were men quite unfit for their posts, and incapable of improvement. In fact, the *Padhas* and *Mullas* of the North-West were no better than the old *Gurus* of the Lower Provinces. The office of Vernacular Teacher had come into disrepute and fallen into contempt in those parts, for precisely the same reasons which had produced the same results in Bengal. A knowledge of the Vernaculars had ceased to be a passport to distinction of any kind, and people sent their children to Vernacular Schools, partly from a compliance with old custom, and partly also for the sake of that little knowledge of reading and writing which has its utility in the transactions of every-day life.

8. After various plans had been proposed and discussed, having more or less for their object the improvement of the indigenous schools, a system of Halqabandi Schools, supplemented by Tehsili Schools, was adopted by Government on the recommendation of the Visitor-General. The Halqabandi system consisted in dividing a Tehsil, or smallest revenue sub-division of a district, into a certain number of *Halqas* or Circles, made up on an average of five villages, and establishing a Vernacular School in that which was most centrically situated among them, or which was the most important.

9. The introduction of such a system pre-supposes one of two things : either, *first*, that the country in every part of it was prepared to receive such education as the Government had determined to give in these schools ; or, *secondly*, that the education to be imparted was of such a very elementary nature that, however diverse the character, pursuits, and occupations of the different classes, it would recommend itself to the necessities of all.

10. But since the scheme introduced was professedly for improving a system of schools already extant, there can be no ground for supposing that the education to be imparted was meant to be quite so elementary. Nay, almost from the very commencement, we see the Visitor-General complaining of the utter indifference of both the teachers and the parents of the pupils, to such higher studies as were prescribed for the Halqabandi schools. Neither can the supposition hold that all classes of people, inhabiting every part of the country, felt equally the want of education, and desired it at the hands of Government For the North-Western Provinces, taken as a whole, are far less homogeneously peopled than Bengal Proper. They contain a vast variety of tribes and races more or less intermixed, and with habits and occupations often very widely differing from each other Entire villages, and not unfrequently whole tracts of particular districts, are found to belong to some one tribe or caste who have preserved intact through the lapse of centuries their own distinctive habits, customs, and modes of thought and speech. Under such circumstances, it is unnecessary to prove that educational wants could not be uniform among such a variety of people

11. We must therefore account for the Halqabandi system on a third, and possibly the only theory now left to us. The people were known to be ignorant, and incapable and probably unwilling to educate themselves. It was not felt necessary to consult their feelings or wishes on the subject This is identical with the theory of compulsory education about which there is even now going on a warm controversy in England. We may suppose the Government of the North Western Provinces to have adopted the theory in some modified form, and instead of prescribing actual compulsion to be used in order to secure attendance at school, to have thought to effect their object by gentler means. They had provided the necessary means for education, and they instructed the local officers to use persuasion with, and to offer inducements to, the people.

12. It is by no means improbable that the local officers of Government often overstepped those nice limits at which, in the hands of men of authority, persuasion ends, and pressure begins. The following Circular, No. 161, dated 28th February, 1859, seems to denote that undue authority was sometimes employed in favor of educational progress :—

" The Lieutenant Governor desires me to request that you will impress upon all Collectors in your Division, that they must regard the diffusion of education as an important part of their official duty, and use all legitimate means to support and encourage the measures that may be set on foot with that object.

"It must, however, be borne in mind that, whether in respect of contributions to the maintenance of the Halqabandi schools, or the attendance of their children at those or any other schools, the people must be left absolutely to the exercise of their own discretion and their own will, and it will be your duty to enjoin upon Collectors that their influence must never be so used as to infringe this fundamental principle of the educational system.

"The Collectors should further be advised that the intervention of native agency is most undesirable, and that whatever is done in furtherance of educational operations, must be done personally by the Collectors themselves in direct communication with the people; not by attempting to persuade them, but by plainly, carefully, and unmistakeably explaining that the object of the Government is to offer instruction to the people at large with a single view to their improvement and benefit, and not to force it upon them against their will."

But a system of popular education so thorough as that started in the North-West, cannot proceed quite smoothly on the *lax compulsion* of simple official persuasion, inducement, or even pressure. Legislative enactments, imposing pains and penalties, have not fully succeeded even in Europe.

13. The force therefore which was to uphold the Halqabandi system was not quite adequate to the task. A District Map of the North-West, having the present sites of the schools marked upon it, will show at one glance that village circles with central schools no longer exist. While three, four, or five schools are often found grouped close to each other, large tracts of country are seen to remain quite unoccupied. Even yet the schools seem not to have obtained any firm footing, but to be shifting about from place to place. Were the necessary enquiries made, it would be found that but few of the Halqabandi schools are of very old standing in the places which they now occupy. Some idea of this will be formed from the facts tabulated below.

Statement showing the Changes that have occurred in the Sites of Halqabandi Schools in a few Pergunnahs.

Pergunnahs.	No. of Halqa Schools.	
	1860-61.	1866-67.
Iglas	116	15
Sardhána	27	17
Rurki	8	25
Nakúr	.....	24
Basuli	28	18
Gonaor	21	10
Muradabad	.....	17
Bahginahat	20	32
Khirogurh	.....	20
Kasganj	38	26

	Pargunnahs.	1865-66.	1866-67.
1st Circle, Aligurh.	Hatras ...	44	35
	Aligurh ...	63	8
	Khair ...	20	4
	Sikandar Rao ...	40	21
	Atrauli ..	53	15
2nd Circle, Agra.	Hujur Tehsil ...	107	22
	Futtehabad ..	7	22
	Etmodpur ...	7	33
	Ferozabad ..	7	22
	Bahpinahat ...	4	32
	Khergur ..	4	20
	Furrah ..	4	24
3rd Circle, Allahabad.	Aroil ..	5	19
	Buruh ...	2	22
	Choil ..	55	19
	Khyragurh ..	3	27
	Soraun ...	36	16

14. Removals of the Halqabandi schools from place to place have been therefore pretty frequent. The general character of these removals is worthy of note My impression is that schools have moved away in most cases from tracts inhabited by the less civilised and wilder tribes, such as the *Gujars* and *Mewatis*, to parts inhabited by people of more settled habits. They have also moved off in larger numbers from Mahomedan to Hindu villages, than the contrary. Removals have been likewise frequent from agricultural villages to towns, from villages inhabited by *Jats*, *Ahirs*, and *Chumars*, to those where the Brahmans, the Lalas, and the Banyas predominate or muster in some strength.

15. In the changes which have already occurred, and which are still going on, I am disposed to see the strength of that principle which adjusts the supply of schools, as of other things, to the demand for them in particular localities, and which interferes with every theory of their equal distribution over a country. There are always certain classes of the community who expect to profit more by school instruction than others. There are those also who can afford more easily than others to let their children spend some hours every day at school. The first will desire to have schools; the second may tolerate them, but the rest will do neither, unless actually forced The forcing employed in the North-West being confined to official persuasion, inducement, or pressure, and never having come up to actual compulsion, the Halqabandi theory of school distribution has inevitably broken down.

16 It is said that the system of primary education prevailing in the Panjab is similar to that of the North-West This is true only to a certain extent. An education cess is levied in both the Provinces, the scheme of studies is similar in both, and the Civil authorities are connected with educational affairs in the Panjab and the North-West much more closely than they are in Bengal. But the resemblance ceases here. The Panjab officers seem to have

been aware of the incompatibility of the Halqabandi theory of school distribution with a system of *law* compulsion or simple official pressure. The second Director, the late Major Fuller, who had already a practical acquaintance with the Halqabandi system of the North-West, introduced some important modifications of it during his administration of the Panjab schools. Under the first Director, Mr. Arnold, the usual statistical enquiries about indigenous education with which Mr. Reid had commenced in the North-West had begun in the Panjab; Deputy Inspectors of Schools were instructed to mark out circles for village schools; and a vast number of such schools had already commenced operations. But under Major Fuller the arbitrary division of Tehsils into village circles was discontinued; the services of a large body of Deputy and Sub-Deputy Inspectors of Schools were entirely dispensed with; and the whole administration and management of schools was handed over to the Civil authorities of the province, the educational officers coming to be simply their professional advisers. Hence the Panjab schools are not called *Halqabandi* or *Tehsili* as in the North-West. Those names would imply a geographical distribution which does not obtain among them. They are called village and town schools, which denote, what is a simple fact, the kind of places in which the schools are severally held. The theory of equal distribution has no force in the Panjab.

17. Nor is the theory that certain schools are designed for certain classes of the community allowed to have any weight in the Panjab. The schools are there, and those who choose may attend them. If agriculturists come to school they will have to pay no fees, as they pay the cess already. The same indulgence is shown to agriculturists in the Halqabandi schools of the North-West also. But the theory there, as also partly in Bengal, is that the village schools are designed for the lower classes of the people alone. In the Panjab such a theory is not recognised in practice, and I do not remember to have seen it anywhere put forward in the printed Education Reports of that Province. Only a slight leaning towards it was found by me in an unpublished manuscript report of Mr. Arnold which I was permitted to read.

18. The Department of Public Instruction, Panjab, thus appears to me to have looked plainly at facts, and to have discarded theories which have not been, and cannot yet be, fully acted up to. By making over the administration of schools to the Civil authorities, it has certainly increased the weight of official pressure, and thus acted in accordance with the theory of compulsory education as far as was possible under the circumstances. At the same time, by refusing to recognise those class distinctions among schools which have obtained in the older provinces of the empire, the Panjab Department of Public Instruction has as certainly diminished the force of those circumstances which the compulsory system is designed to counteract. In fact, while the weight of official pressure in favor of education has been increased, the obstacles to educational progress have been rendered far less powerful than elsewhere. The Panjab Government have recognised these services of the late Director, as will be seen from the following extract from a minute, dated 21st October, 1863, by His

Honor the Lieutenant-Governor:—" When the Educational Department was first formed in the Panjab in 1855 under the direction of the late Mr. Arnold, it was based on the principle of being a separate Department to be worked solely by educational officers. A staff of Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors was organised, who were in effect to act in their several spheres as the local representatives of the Director. This dissociation of the Civil and Educational Departments was not found to be practically successful. The supervising native agency then available proved inferior, and often untrustworthy. The fact of education being a department by itself in which the Civil Officers had no direct concern, caused them too often to manifest a want of interest in this important subject, and the result was apathy and indifference on the part of the people. In 1860 it was determined to remodel the system, which the experience of the past years had shewn to be necessary. The chief modifications introduced by Captain Fuller, who succeeded Mr. Arnold, were as follows :—

(a.) Abolition of the native supervising agency.

(b.) Transfer of the executive management of all the Vernacular Schools to the District Officers."

19. I must add here that the voluntary principle has been admitted to some extent in the Panjab educational operations. In the first place, there are local committees consisting of native gentlemen of the province who are required to look after the schools in their neighbourhood. These local committees, however, are not like those of Bengal, and are unlike those lately constituted in the North-Western Provinces In the Panjab the management of schools is directly in the hands of the local Civil Officers, and the authority they exercise as managers is independent of that of the local committees, whose principal business consists in raising subscriptions, suggesting improvements, and reporting deficiencies.

Secondly, popular wishes are consulted in the Panjab in not opening village schools until a wish for them has been expressed by the villagers Nay, proofs are required that the feeling expressed is genuine They are afforded almost invariably in the substantial form of contributions to build the school houses. Thus all the village schools in the Panjab obtain a local habitation, and are far from being so wretchedly accommodated as the majority of the Bengal village schools. The North-West Provinces have also a very great superiority over Bengal in this respect, although perhaps hardly so much so as the Panjab. But, notwithstanding these circumstances, I am disposed to think that the voluntary principle is still but weak

The schools, as I have said, are under the direct management of the Civil authorities, whose influence is supreme Popular prejudices or popular indifference about schools dare not manifest themselves openly. There is besides a cess fund always available for building village school houses. The Tehsildars who

have to build them must get the work done by the village people themselves, who are to contribute a part of the building fund. I estimated the probable cost of many of the school houses while on the spot, and was forced to the conclusion that they could have been erected for two-thirds or half the sums said to have been laid out upon them. But these are minor points. The voluntary principle is admitted to be weak, and at present action is taken more to call it into existence than with a view to work it into results.

I visited but few of the village schools in Oudh. My knowledge of the system there, such as it is, is derived chiefly from conversation and from the reports of the Education Department of that Province. The Oudh Education Department commenced operations in 1863-64, being as yet not four years in existence. Though borrowed from that of the North-West, and therefore resembling it in some respects, the system of elementary instruction adopted in Oudh seems to have already received such important modifications in its practical working, as to make it resemble the North-West system less than the Patshala scheme of Bengal,—always, however, with the exception of that one circumstance, the existence of a cess, which is unknown here.

In Oudh, "with but few exceptions, the teachers in charge of village schools are trained men. It is deemed unwise to send strangers into a district as village teachers, and the practice is avoided." The resemblance of the Oudh village school system to the provisions of the Patshala scheme is seen at once in this remark. In Oudh "the boys are examined in their school-rooms, so that it is impossible to get up a school for the occasion of a visit." This is the Bengal system of examinations, and not that of the North-West, nor of the Panjab. In Oudh "the Deputy Inspectors are expected to interest the villagers in education, to organise and superintend schools, and to be responsible for anything that goes wrong." The Bengal Deputy Inspectors' duties may equally be described in those words. In Oudh they pay rent for many school houses. In Oudh they are unwilling to "get up village schools too fast, but expend the proceeds of the cess fund largely on the Normal Schools, and wait for trained teachers from them."

20. Such coincidences between the educational systems of the two Provinces, which correspond also most closely in the nature of their revenue settlements, must be striking. The resemblance, I fancy, will in time be still more complete, and Tehsildars and Police Officers will have nothing to do for educational progress in Oudh, not even indirectly, as they have to do at present. "The absence," says the Director of Public Instruction, "of a middle class intelligent enough to appreciate a superior education, and rich enough to continue their sons at school, is the real difficulty of educational progress in Oudh. Government employées, especially those who require a knowledge of English, form a nucleus of such a class which is being gradually strengthened by the more advanced zemindars, shopkeepers, and bankers." Such might have been precisely the language used respecting the educational future of Bengal thirty years ago. We see in all the Education Reports of Oudh slight, but clear indications of a desire to recognise the volun-

tary principle in that province. Whether it exists or not, the Education Department seems willing to assume its existence.

CHAPTER II.

1. From the preceding sketch of the educational systems prevailing in the Upper Provinces, it will have been seen that in one respect they resemble one another, and differ from that of Bengal. The village schools in all of them, Oudh not excepted, are supported by a cess levied on the agricultural classes of the community. I shall come hereafter to speak of the education cess. It will be sufficient to say at present that the cess originated in the North-West Provinces, where the intention was to benefit the agricultural classes directly by the establishment of village schools. It must be remembered also that the system of periodic settlements for land revenue, and the increase of which that revenue was accordingly susceptible from time to time, afforded prospects of a corresponding increase in any percentage on the land revenue which might be imposed for the expense of education. Such considerations, along with the facilities which existed for the collection of a land cess, must have recommended it to the Government of the North-Western Provinces. It was subsequently introduced into the Panjab and elsewhere from the North-West.

2. I have shown that the village circle system as originally evolved in theory could not be carried out in practice. Schools have come to distribute themselves more in accordance, one may suppose, with the actual requirements of the community, than consistently with any ideas of an equal, fair, and orderly arrangement. I shall now proceed to examine in greater detail what progress seems to have been made under the Halqabandi system, in educating the agricultural classes. The total number of schools in the North-West and the Panjab, as well as other statistics about those Provinces, are epitomised from the last educational and administration reports in the following Table :—

No.	Provinces.	Area in square miles	Population	Male children of a school-going age assumed at 1-14th of the entire population	No of schools	Number of children on the rolls.	Percentage of children attending school to those of school-going age	No of village schools.	Remarks.
1	N W Provinces	83,379	30,110,615	2,150,758	3,961	133,760	6 2	3,202	
2	Panjab ..	184,510	19,468,127	1,390,602	2,812	102,388	7 4	1,660	

3. From the proportions (6·2 and 7 4 per cent.) which, in the above Table, the number of children attending school in the North-West and the Panjab bears respectively to the number of children of a school-going age, it may be inferred that the day is yet very far distant when mass education will have become indeed a fact, even in those districts where the most strenuous exertions have been made with that view. The Government of the North-Western Provinces, in reviewing in 1845 the statistics of indigenous

education, observed that in those Provinces 4 per cent. of the children of a school-going age attended the indigenous schools. The advance made in the space of 21 years does not then appear to be very considerable. This will appear still more clearly if it be considered along with the circumstance which the census report, North-Western Provinces, for 1865 has brought to light, that the population of those parts has not increased, if indeed it has not actually diminished, since 1852, when the first census was taken. With a stationary population, and the means in the shape of a school cess at the disposal of the authorities, the education of the masses seems to have advanced by only 2 2 per cent. in the course of 21 years. Add to this the consideration that the rate of increase in the number of schools cannot continue to be as large as it has heretofore been, after the limits of the cess on which these schools are supported have been reached, and the task of educating the masses will appear to be very nearly a hopeless one.

4. But if the difficulty appear so great from the statistics of the printed reports themselves, how much greater, nay insuperable, must it appear after we have come across passages in those reports which throw doubt on their accuracy, and makes us think them to be far more exaggerated than perhaps they actually are.

"The great discrepancy," says an Inspector, "between the numbers on the registers and the numbers taught, seems to be due to a system of official pressure which produces only superficial results." (Panjab Report, 1865-66, page 47.)

The cause assigned for the discrepancy between the numbers on the rolls and the numbers taught, is in operation more or less throughout the Upper Provinces.

"In some schools," says the Director of Public Instruction, North-Western Provinces, "the average attendance exceeds the number on the rolls, which would shew that the registers are not properly kept. In the schools under the Deputy Commissioner, there is no difference on the entries, the inference from which is, that no registers are kept" (Report, North-Western Provinces, for 1866-67, page 32.)

And yet Deputy Commissioners manage a large number of schools in those parts

Passages like the following crop out now and then —"Through the neglect of many Halqa teachers to fill up the attendance rolls daily and correctly, the attendance had been much exaggerated." (Report, North-Western Provinces, for 1860-61, page 29). "The registers are not always trustworthy." (Panjab Report, 1866-67, page 14.)

Indeed, it will be seen from the following quotation that the abuse is considered to be irremediable.

"Mr. Pearson," remarks the Director of Public Instruction, Panjab, "was asked for suggestions how to make attendance more regular, and how to secure more trustworthy returns. His reply was, that attendance must be irregular

among an agricultural population, and that it was no use punishing for incorrect returns." (Panjab Report, 1865-66, page lx.)

5. Well may Mr. Inspector Pearson consider the evil to be past all remedy, since it continues to raise its head so stoutly, in spite of the very strict supervision which is exercised to keep it down. In the North-Western Provinces monthly returns on printed forms are obtained from every school, however low its position; printed registers are supplied to all the schools; and various forms and returns have to be submitted by the Deputies and Sub-Deputies. These are compared with the statements which come pretty frequently through the Tehsildars and are supplied by the village Patwaris, and with extracts which have to be forwarded regularly from visitors' books, &c.; but all, as would appear from the reports of the educational officers themselves, prove to no great purpose in securing accuracy in the statistics.

6. Under such circumstances, I may venture to give some prominence to the statistics of the schools as I collected them from personal observation. I visited 164 of the village schools of all the three different inspecting circles in the North-Western Provinces. I consider this to be a fair number from which to derive an approximately correct idea of the general status of village schools in these Districts. I subjoin my statistics in a tabulated form.

No. of village schools seen.	No. on the rolls.	Number found present.	Attending from how many villages.	Population of those villages.	Average attendance per school.	Remarks.
N. W. P., 164	5,466	3,181	496	157,646	19·4	
Panjab, 16	776	480				

It will be seen that in the North-Western Provinces 3,181 pupils were in attendance, out of 5,466 on the rolls. I know not how far it may be accurate to strike an average of attendance for all the schools of the North-West from the actual attendance as observed by me in the above schools; but the necessities of the case compel me to place that stress upon my own statistics, which I would otherwise refrain from doing. As it is, calculations based upon these statistics give 62,107 pupils as the number attending the 3,202 village schools of the North-West. The number given in the report for 1866-67 is 84,103.

7. But an enquiry even more important than the preceding would be, how far the Halqa schools of the North-West have answered their avowed object of educating the agricultural classes. It is of less importance that the statistics of the schools should give a few thousand pupils more or less than what is perhaps actually the case, than if the very status of the schools should be misconceived and lead to serious errors of administration. One difficulty is

met at the very outset of this enquiry; but it is one of a different nature from the preceding one about statistics. With regard to general statistics, the education reports, as we have seen, supply us with information minute enough in certain respects. But regarding the number of agriculturists at school, the later reports are, generally speaking, silent. Indeed, it seems to me that the educational authorities of the Upper Provinces have not directed their attention to those nice distinctions of classification which, rightly or wrongly, we have begun to introduce in Bengal.

8. The general rule in the North-West and Panjab is, that children of agriculturists pay no fees at the village schools. Now, as most of the pupils pay no fees, they may be all supposed to be children of agricultural labourers. But such a conclusion would be too hasty. For in the education reports we meet here and there with passages which show that although no statistics are given as to what number of agriculturists attend the schools, yet the authorities have been long aware that the number of them is much smaller than might seem to be the case from the single circumstance of non payment of fees

So far back as 1858-59, I find the Visitor-General himself writing as follows:—"The schools are open to all, and are attended, at any rate, more largely by the middle classes than the lower classes."

The present Director of Public Instruction, Panjab, writes still more strongly, inasmuch as he thinks that the system will never do for the agriculturists. "I do not believe," he remarks, "that the children of the agricultural classes will attend schools in large numbers under the present system." (Panjab Report for 1866-67, page 14.)

From the following quotation from one of the Inspector's reports, it might be inferred that the levying of fees from non-agriculturists is not, generally speaking, very strictly enforced.

"In this district," writes the Inspector, "fees are strictly levied from all non-agriculturists." (Panjab Report for 1866-67, page 12)

9. One of the questions which I asked the boys of the schools I visited, with a view to form some idea of their social position, was whether their parents worked in the fields with their own hands, or engaged servants to do it for them. Most of those who had represented themselves as agriculturists (Kastkar) repudiated with contempt the idea that their fathers were agricultural labourers. *Béshak Majduronsé* (certainly by labourers) was their warm and invariable answer. The question seemed to displease the children, and to be new to the Deputy Inspectors. Indeed, as already observed, the subject does not seem to have drawn as much attention in the North Western Provinces as it has done here. Thus when the Inspector of the 3rd Circle writes in his report for 1866-67, "We have 40,603 boys in our schools, of whom 28,312 are agriculturists," it does not seem to strike him what number of these

agriculturist children belong to the labouring class. There are but few families in Indian villages without some connection with land and agriculture, and yet all are not agriculturists.

10. The case, indeed, appears to be a very clear one. It is the object of Government to extend the benefits of school instruction to the agricultural community. A cess is taken from land for the express purpose of being expended on their education, and there is a premium in the shape of exemption from fees for all who can pass off as members of that body. Besides, it must be remembered that the fees collected at the village schools do not belong to the teachers, as in Bengal. They are credited to Government, and one of the Inspectors writes, "I have reason to believe that in many cases the fees (such as they are) are actually paid by teachers who cannot afford to expel defaulters." Under such circumstances, it cannot surprise us that the collections from fees should be as small as they are. The collections at the village schools of the North-Western Provinces and the Panjab for 1866-67 are shown in the following Table :—

Provinces.	Total number of village schools.	Total amount of fees and fines collected.	Average per annum.	Average per mensem.	Remarks.
		Rs.	Rs.		
N. W. Provinces ...	3,202	6,752	2 105	·177	
Panjab ...	1,660	3,735	2·250	·187	

I took down what the teachers of the schools I visited represented to me to be the average fee payments per month. Their statements are given in the following tabular form :—

No of schools of which statistics were taken	Collection of fees per month					Assumed No of Schools paying fees per mensem.					Assumed total collection per month.	Assumed total collection per year.	Remarks.
	No fees.	About 1 anna.	About 2 annas.	About 4 annas.	About 8 annas.	Nothing	1 anna.	2 annas.	4 annas.	8 annas.			
							Paying Rs. 54 per month.	Paying Rs 97 per month	Paying Rs. 119 per month.	Paying Rs. 173 per month.	Rs.	Rs.	
74	17	20	18	11	8	735	865	779	476	346	443	5,316	

11. A comparison of the preceding Table with the collections for the year as epitomised in the preceding Table, yields an interesting result worthy of note.

The average income from fees per mensem per school, as yielded by calculations based on the last Table, is, say $2\frac{1}{4}$ annas. Now, the total number of village schools in the North-West is 3,202. If we assume the average found from this Table as correct for all the schools, the total income from fees will be Rs. 5,316, a result not very far from the probable income from fees alone, as obtainable from column 3 of the Table before the last, making a fair deduction on account of fines, &c. Indeed, the corroboration is strong, and may be a ground for believing that the statistics as collected by me from personal observation and enquiries, are not so imperfect that they cannot be relied upon in their results as applied to all the village schools of the N. W. P. It makes me believe that in other particulars they will prove as close to the mark as they are found to be in this instance.

12. It is with increased confidence, therefore, that the necessary deductions will be made from the following Table, in which, probably for the first time since the retirement of the Visitor General, the proportion of the labouring to the non-labouring classes attending the village schools of the North-West, is made to appear.

No. of schools of which statistics were taken.	Total No. of pupils present.	Non-labouring.	Labouring.	Percentage of labouring classes to total attendance.
80	1,849	965	884	47·7

The percentage of labouring classes is seen from the above to be 47·7. Now, the total number of children attending the village schools has been shewn to be 62,107. We calculate, therefore, that about 29,625 children of the labouring classes are in actual attendance at the Halqa schools of the North-Western Provinces. This, it will be admitted, is a result not too much for the energy and influence enlisted in the cause of education in those parts to achieve.

13. There remains one other point of view from which to look at the present question about the social position of the Halqa pupils. This point has reference to the castes most numerous among them. No enquiry into the social position of Hindus can be complete which does not elucidate the question from this all-important point of Hindu social life. Sir Alexander Grant indeed says, that no other element of social distinction need be taken into account in India. However that may be, the following Table will be deemed of importance, especially as the later reports of the North-Western Provinces are altogether mute on this subject :—

No. of schools of which statistics were taken.	No. of pupils.	Castes.					
		Brahmans.	Khetris, &c.	Kaiths.	Banyas.	Musulmans.	Other castes.
80	1,849	544	328	135	224	357	261

If we calculate as we have done heretofore the general caste statistics of the entire body of Halqa schools from the above, the results will be as shewn in the following Table :—

No of schools.	No of pupils.	Castes.					
		Brahmans.	Khetris.	Kaiths.	Banyas.	Musulmans.	Other castes.
3,202	62,107	18,273	11,017	4,534	7,524	11,991	8,768

14. The results arrived at in this instance may, I admit, differ very widely from the truth ; for there has entered a large element of error here from which the other calculations were comparatively free. The North-Western Provinces, as elsewhere observed, are very unequally inhabited by the different castes. Different castes predominate in different districts. For instance, in the Benares district the predominating castes are the Brahmans, the Kumbus, the Kahars, and the Johahas ; in Cawnpore they are the Kankubj, the Dusar, the Ahír, and the Chamar ; in Agra, the Sunadhs, the Banyas, the Chamars, and the Lodhas ; and in Aligurh, the Thakurs, the Jats, the Burhi, and the Sukkas. Again, out of the railway track by which I travelled, there are districts such as Muradabad, Shajehanpur, Furrakabad, &c., in which Musulmans and other castes prevail who have but a small number of representatives in the districts visited by me. Hence the possibility of very considerable error. But while I admit this source of inaccuracy, I cannot doubt the perfect soundness of the conclusion that the higher castes very largely predominate in the Halqa schools.

15. On this conclusion the questions will now force themselves, why, if the great majority of the Halqa pupils be of high caste and not agricultural labourers, do they not struggle to obtain a higher education than what is provided for them at the Halqas? Why is there not such a cry for English education as we hear so loud and repeated in Bengal? Why do not the middle classes of society in the North-West feel that passion for the public service which is natural in their circumstances? The educational authorities of the North-West and the Panjab will themselves answer these questions for me, and corroborate, as in their replies they will do fully, the view I have taken that the village schools are attended by the middle and not the lower classes of native society.

"It is generally allowed," writes Mr. Inspector Pearson, "that our vernacular education is viewed by the people with great apathy, and it is plain that it is sought with none of that eagerness with which opportunities of learning English are seized." No Bengal Inspector could have described the state

of things in this Province in clearer terms. "It is a common complaint," says another Panjab Inspector, "that in a Government vernacular school there is no chance of employment anywhere except in the Education Department, and in some cases as Patwaris." The *cui bono* question as regards attendance at vernacular schools, which Bengal Inspectors have so often to answer, seems to have been asked in the Panjab as well. The same difficulty has occurred in the North-West. "My question," writes the Visitor General, 'Why don't you send your boys to school?' has frequently met with the reply, 'We will, if you give us an English teacher and pay for him.' The late Director of Public Instruction, Panjab, wrote as follows in the last report he submitted to Government:—"The expediency of requiring Government servants who may be entertained after a certain date to pass an examination, is now under consideration, and should the measure be carried into effect, the great obstacle to the perfect success of our vernacular schools will have been removed." After all, then, it is that same passion for service which is to carry vernacular education to a successful issue. "Here, in the case of English schools," says an Inspector, "there is no apathy on the part of the people to dishearten the philanthropist, no Tehsildar or local Committee is needed to explain to them the advantages of education." This needs no comment. I shall conclude with one more extract from the report of the Director of Public Instruction, North-Western Provinces.

"The spread of a desire to learn English is one of many signs of progress abroad, is self-expansive, and, I believe, independent of Government action. We do not intend to create the desire by sowing schools broadcast over the country, but finding the desire exists we endeavour to satisfy it. In this view all discussion about the policy of Government in teaching English, all attempts to delineate its expectancy in so doing, *all talk about the disappearance of the vernaculars, is talk.*"

It is a subject for serious reflection when, in the North-West, with its three thousand one hundred and sixty-one vernacular schools, there is a talk of the *disappearance* of the vernaculars; and in Bengal, which is said to be most backward in lower class education, one Bengali book is said to issue from the press every day of the year.

CHAPTER III.

1. In this chapter it is my object to give some idea of the progress in studies and actual attainments of the village school pupils of the North-West and the Panjab. The task is much facilitated by the uniformity of studies prevailing in the schools of those Provinces. Indeed, limited as my experience had been to Bengal, where managers of schools diversify at their own will the studies of all the classes except the highest, I had no clear idea of the invariable uniformity that could be introduced in this respect. As it is, the North-West and the Panjab educational authorities seem to be realising in their respective Provinces that state of things the very perfection of which in France is said to have led a French minister of education to boast that he could tell

from his office records what page of what book they were reading in all the village schools of France on a given day at a given hour. Whatever disadvantages may arise from such a prescribed uniformity of studies to be pursued under every variety of circumstance, its advantages are manifest in facilitating comparison and classification of schools to an almost mechanical process.

2. The course of studies as authoritatively prescribed for the North-West and the Panjab are shown below :—

N. W. Provinces.	Panjab.	N. W. Provinces.	Panjab.
1st Class.	1st Class.	3rd Class.	3rd Class.
Euclid—4 books.	Euclid—3rd and 4th books, with deductions.	.....	Euclid—1st book.
Algebra—to quadratic equations.	Algebra—to quadratic equations.	Arithmetic—to interest.	Arithmetic—the whole.
History—India, Universal.	History—England, Universal.	History of India.	History of India.
Geography—map of Africa, America.	Geography—drawing maps.	Outlines of Geography.	Outlines of Geography.
Reading books—Persian and Urdu.	Reading books—Hindi and Urdu.	Surveying—plane table.	Natural History.
Political Economy (money matters).	Political Economy (money matters).	Reading books—Persian and Urdu.	Astronomy (elements).
	Surveying—plane table.		Village accounts by Cust.
	Law—Dewani, Foujdari by Cust.	4th Class.	Reading books—Hindi and Urdu.
		Arithmetic—fractions.	4th Class.
2nd Class.	2nd Class.	Rudiments of Knowledge.	Arithmetic—vulgar and decimal fractions.
Euclid—first 2 books.	Euclid—first 2 books.	Geography—outlines.	Outlines of Indian History.
Algebra—to simple equations.	Algebra—to division.	History of India.	Geography—Europe.
History of India.	History—England, Universal.	Dictation.	Village accounts.
Geography—map of Europe.	Geography, Hughes's—drawing sketched maps of countries.	Reading books—Per- and Urdu.	Writing letters and petitions.
Reading books—Persian and Urdu.	Natural Philosophy (elements).	5th Class.	Reading books—Urdu & Hindi.
Political Economy (money matters).	Astronomy.	Arithmetic—1st four rules.	5th Class.
Plan drawing.	Reading books—Urdu and Hindi.	A tale of Rural Life.	Arithmetic—rule of three, simple, double.
	Political Economy (money matters).	Map of the District.	History of India—outlines.
	Mensuration.	Writing on slates.	Village accounts.
	Law—Dewani Foujdari by Cust.	6th Class.	Dictation.
		Primer.	6th Class.
		Easy reading lessons.	Tale of Rural Life.
		Multiplication tables.	Forms of letters, petitions, perwanas.
		Writing on slates.	First four rules of Arithmetic.
		Geography—map of Punjab, India (orally).	Dictation.
		7th Class.	Geography—map of Panjab, India (orally).
		Primer.	7th Class.
		Notation, Numeration, & Multiplication tables.	Primer.
		Writing simple words.	Notation, Numeration, & Multiplication tables.
		8th Class.	Writing simple words.
		.....	8th Class.
			Reading and writing letters and figures.

3. It may be easily conjectured that although the above course is laid down for all the schools, there will be various circumstances to prevent the result from being exactly that contemplated in authoritatively prescribing it.

All schools in all their classes cannot make progress at an equal pace. Different teachers will be more or less efficient; different schools will be attended by students of diverse capacities. It is necessary, therefore, to correct the first impression which may be derived from a mere inspection of the very superior standard laid down above.

4. Indeed, the printed reports tell us plainly that the standard prescribed is more what is wished to be attained than what is actually attained. The usefulness of such a proceeding is manifest. It keeps a high standard fixed before the eyes of both teachers and pupils. The plan is wiser, in my opinion, than that of authoritatively prescribing a very short and limited course of studies in order to prevent what is called the evil of teaching up. Be that as it may, the reports of the Education Departments, North-West and Panjab, leave no chance of any one being deceived as to the actual progress of the schools. Minute and detailed information as to the number of children who attained to the different classes as laid down in the standard of studies, is supplied year after year. In the tabulated form below I epitomise these statistics for 1866-67.

Provinces.	What number of pupils have attained the different classes.								Total.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
North-Western Provinces (exclusive of the two minor circles)	0	105	520	1,125	5,136	11,430	21,592	58,303	90,211
Panjab	3	60	282	1,233	3,794	8,510	10,297	29,578	53,757
Total ...	3	165	802	2,358	8,930	19,940	31,889	79,881	143,968

5. I ought to explain here that the Panjab course, as may have been already seen, is somewhat higher than that of the North-West. They have eight classes in the Panjab, and seven in the North-Western Provinces. The beginner's class, which is the 7th of the North-West, is accordingly marked 8th in the above Table, as corresponding to the lowest class of the Panjab schools. This has necessitated corresponding alterations in the position of the other classes. It must be likewise mentioned here, that while the Panjab village schools are left unrestricted as to the classes to which they can teach up, the first two circles of the North-West—Meerut and Agra—bring up the village schools to the 4th class and no further. The 3rd Benares circle imposes no similar restrictions on its village schools. All the classes higher than the 4th, as shewn in the above Table against the North-Western Provinces, belong therefore to the Benares circle. I should perhaps also notice in respect of the above Table that there has crept into the printed reports of the North-West a difference of nomenclature in the classification of schools which must be understood by those who would verify the above Table from the reports. In the Panjab and the 3rd (Benares) circle of the North-Western Provinces, the

highest class is called the 1st, and is so returned in the reports, while in the first (Meerut) and second (Agra) circles of the North-West, the highest class is called the 7th, and appears in the reports under that name. Whether this is considered in framing the general statements of the departmental report, I have not examined.

6. After these explanations, which appear necessary to guard against misconception, I shall remark, referring to the preceeding Table, that in an estimate the actual progress of the Panjab and North-West village schools, the first class standard of studies, as shewn in the Table might be altogether omitted; the second class standard is attained by 0·11 per cent of the pupils; the third class by 0 55 per cent; and the fourth class by 1 64 per cent. The great majority of students, namely 98 per cent., attain the four lowest classes only, where they teach up to the rule of three, simple and double, outlines of Indian history, village accounts, map of the district, and some easy reading book corresponding to the second year's course of the Bengal patshalas.

7. This shows but low progress, and explains that disappointment of the school Inspectors which may be read in the following and similar passages of their reports Speaking of the Tehsili and incidentally of the Halqa schools, the late Mr. Anderson of the Agra circle, who took such lively interest in his work, wrote, "The tendency is a decrease in higher class students and subjects, and a gravitation in the mass to lower classes and elementary instruction. .....Almost all the force or proficiency of the Tehsili schools is now exhibited in the 5th class, corresponding to the 2nd class in Halqabandi schools. The instruction of this class is generally in a passable state. It consists in the four rules of simple arithmetic, reading, writing, dictation, and a knowledge, often very imperfect, of the zillah map.....It has its roots in their (the boys') want of preparation and interest, and partly in the poverty or apathy of their parents and the demand for their labour, in the supposed usefulness of more knowledge,.....also in a desire to obtain what higher instruction may be deemed requisite at some college or high school, and last, but not least, in the low attainments of many of the teachers themselves" The above remarks on the Tehsili schools must come home to the far inferior Halqa schools with tenfold force. But the following extract would induce one to think that the classification as it stands in the returns, and which I have epitomised, is, like the attendance of these schools, far higher than the actual state of things would warrant. "In the 6th and upper classes," writes Mr. Pearson, "26 per cent. of the registered number are shown in the district returns, but only 19 per cent. appeared before me at the examinations, and many of them were not up to a minimum 6th class standard." Nay, speaking of even a higher class of schools, Mr. Pearson writes, "I believe that parents are in the habit of sending their children of tender age to school, not to be taught but taken care of. *Maktabs* and *Patshalas* are very commonly rather nurseries than schools, and Government schools are now largely made use of for the same purpose."

These extracts prove beyond a doubt that the educational officers of the North-West and the Panjab perceive the shortcomings of the results, not withstanding the great interest they are known to feel in their work. This perception does no small credit to their earnestness, for under the system of examinations in vogue it is not easy to perceive what the schools actually are.

8. The examinations are held periodically by the Inspectors or their deputies, or by both together, and often by the Director himself, when a large number of different schools are brought together to one place and ranged in the order of the classes so as to form something like one monstrous school out of the many assembled. I was present at some of these gatherings. They afforded very pleasant sights. Fair-complexioned, handsome children of the Brahman, Khetri, Rajput, and Banya castes, all in their fanciful dresses of silk and lace; dark coloured and well developed *Jat* boys, the agricultural pursuits of whose parents were manifest in their sinewy arms and legs; sleek Musulman children, proving by their almost aquiline nose, curved eyebrows, and brilliant eyes the remote Arab blood yet circulating in their veins; these interspersed with the *Ahirs*, the *Lodhas*, the *Kahars*, the *Kúmbis*, the *Jeswars*, and a dozen others of those mixed Hindu castes whose features have become more or less modified from the original type, would be a study for the ethnologist and afford ample food for historical reminiscence. Such gatherings of village school children are very frequent in the North-West. I have been told that His Honor the Lieutenant Governor and His Excellency the Viceroy, when *en route*, have been often hailed with such sights.

9. As a practical educationist, however, I am compelled to say that examinations held over such gatherings for the very short time that they must necessarily last, fail to afford clear ideas of the schools as they are. A school seen in its own abode is known to be what it is almost at the first glance. Besides, the dirty or cleanly appearance of the school house, the neatness and the orderliness of the children, or the reverse, as they sit to take their lessons, the bearing of the teacher towards his pupils, his voice, his attitude, his patience with the dull, and a thousand other things, remain unseen by the Inspector under the present arrangements. It is true that the deputies, sub-deputies, and chief mohurrers may have opportunities of looking more closely, but the master's eye is nevertheless absent. Besides, as these subordinate officers are not permitted to draw no mileage allowance as they do in Bengal, they have considerably less inducement to travel about from village to village. However conscientious and devoted to their work they may be, the system which confines them to a consolidated travelling allowance cannot command an efficient inspection.

10. The present system of examinations may be objected to also on another ground. The gathering of schools is sometimes made from as long a distance as 60 miles; it is pretty often from distances of 30 miles; and usually

from distances of 16 miles. On the occasions when I was present, the greatest and the average distances the boys had to come from were as follows :—

Dates.	Places.	How many schools came.	Their greatest distance from the place.	Their average distance from the place.	Remarks.
			Miles.	Miles.	
25 January, 1868...	Futtehpore ...	11	32	11½	
30 January, 1868...	Cawnpore ...	7	12	7	
3 February, 1868...	Furrukabad ...	2	4	3½	
4 February, 1868 .	Bullpore ...	7	13	9	
5 February, 1868...	Modhena ...	2	6	2½	
15 February, 1868..	Tajganj ...	7	12	7½	

My impression is, that no conveyance hire is paid, no provision made for food, and (as must necessarily be the case) but very insufficient lodgement provided for the children. They walk these long distances all the way, living upon the *chubana* (grain) with which they supply themselves from home. In the Panjab, where caste restrictions are less strict, the boys take their *chupatis* from home, or get them in the *bazars* from the *nanbis* (bakers). Such treatment of schoolboys in Bengal would not be tolerated, or if enforced would injure their more delicate health. Even in the North-West and the Panjab, where they are hardier, the distances which boys may be made to travel in order to be examined should, I think, be strictly limited.

11. But I must not appear to be blind to the advantages of the system. In the first place, it enables the department to carry on inspectional work with a smaller number of hands, and to keep down the cost of the inspecting agency. Secondly, it makes possible the inspection (such as it is) of all the vast number of schools every year. Thirdly, these gatherings of the pupils, and the examining of them together in the presence of their teachers, produce competition, the effect of which is likely to be beneficial. Fourthly, the very fact of having to stir out from the villages in which the children remain cooped up must brace and enlarge their ideas. But the disadvantages, nevertheless, appear to outweigh the advantages.

12. In connection with this subject I may as well mention here the practice which obtains in those Provinces of holding education *Durbars*. This seems to me to be a source of much good. Some Government officer of position, usually the Commissioner or the Deputy Commissioner, and occasionally the Lieutenant-Governor himself, presides on these occasions. Many schools are brought together. *Khillats* are distributed among the Tehsildars and other native officers and gentlemen whose exertions in the cause of education have been favorably reported and have deserved recognition. Prizes in money, books, and articles of clothing

are given away to the students who have done best at the examinations, and the whole ceremony ends in an imposing manner with exhortations from the President to the gentry assembled. Athletic sports often follow, and prizes are given for running, leaping, and other exhibitions of superior agility and strength. I should greatly like to see similar exhibitions introduced in Bengal, with such modifications as the present state of educational progress here may render advisable. The athletic games would, no doubt, prove very useful. The *Durbars* of the North-West and the Panjab answer very well their object of encouraging the teachers and pupils, as well as of stimulating men of wealth and influence in favor of education. They also make the village boys stir out of their homes and see the external world. But the very existence of the Durbar system takes away in part from the usefulness of the gatherings at the inspectorial examinations, which have therefore to recommend them only the economy of expense they subserve.

13. In examining these schools, I followed both the North-West and the Bengal plans. I visited some of the schools in their own homes, and others I had brought to me at fixed stations. Whenever I examined schools brought to me for the purpose, the progress exhibited by at least some of the pupils seemed satisfactory. Whether or not the first favorable impression produced by the neat, orderly, and handsome appearance of the children had any influence on my mind, I am now unable to determine. It may be a question, too, if the Halqabandi teachers had not mixed up with their boys some of the more advanced pupils of the Tehsili schools on these occasions. Such things are not quite impossible, as may be seen from the following passage in one of the printed reports. "I have known very fairly prepared classes to be improvised at a moment's notice, if it was the teacher's interest to make me believe that he had been working steadily ; and this is particularly the case when the Examiner is a Deputy Commissioner, whose influence, aided by a distribution of sweetmeats, is sufficient to attract all the educated youth in the neighbourhood." (Panjab Report for 1866-67, page 51). I sincerely hope, however, that no such tricks were played upon me.

14. There was one thing, however, which struck me most markedly at all the examinations, whether of joint or of separate schools. The pupils answered more from memory than from an intelligent appreciation of their text books. I do not go the length of saying that they did not understand what they had read, but that they were more ready with rote work, and seemed to feel more confident when only repeating than when required to think. If, for instance, I asked from their history, "Who was *Ruzia Begum?*" the answer invariably began with "*Ruzia Begum burri hushiar thi, hurroz qoran purthi thi,*" and so on and on would they proceed repeating until stopped. If I asked them to name the principal places on the river Ganges, the answer always commenced with naming Hurdwar, and proceeded smoothly enough to Calcutta. But if directed to begin from some intermediate station, such as Allahabad, Benares, or Patna, there would be terrible faltering, and in most cases a perfect stand-still. In

mental arithmetic there appeared to be a marked deficiency. The native system of solving rule of three problems by aliquot parts seemed to have been generally neglected, although the text-book used has a chapter especially on that subject. The reading was fluent from the text-books, and, generally speaking, the answers were correct to those questions in grammar, synonymes, and etymology of words, which the Deputy Inspectors asked at my request; but after a few examinations these questions seemed to me to have become stereotyped on the memories of the Deputy Inspectors themselves, and they could not vary them with much ease or readiness on being desired to do so. In one respect, and in one only, I can offer my praise without any hesitation. The handwriting of the village school pupils, whether of the Panjab or the North-West, is, so far as I have seen, quite excellent. On the whole, my impression is that the pupils who attend the village schools of those parts are made to take great pains to learn, and that they excel in everything in which intelligent guidance is not particularly needed. The vernacular education of the North-West has evidently not escaped the evils of *cram*.

15. If I should proceed to account for this, I would attribute it to the circumstance that qualified teachers were not provided beforehand for the village schools. The schools were started simultaneously with, or prior to, the Normal Schools. Accordingly the old *Padhas* and *Mullas* (corresponding to the Bengal *Gurus*) had to be enticed or impressed into the Government education service, along with that vast body of discarded *Patwaris* (Gomastas of Bengal) who were found incapable of keeping the village accounts in the new form that was introduced. These men were directed to make use of elementary books prepared at the instance of Government for the use of the schools. What but mere rote work at best could be expected under such circumstances? The Visitor General writes :—"We have to deal with teachers almost as ignorant as those whom they profess to instruct. Allowance must ever be made for the fact that the educators are themselves uneducated." (Report of the North-Western Provinces for 1853-54, page 52).

It is indeed creditable enough to the supervising agency of the North-West and the Panjab that they have succeeded to the extent they have done with such unlikely instruments.

16. The Normal Schools at Benares, Agra, Delhi, and Meerut are now doing their best to replace the untrained teachers; but it will be long yet before they can reach the goal. I subjoin a Tabulated Statement from which some idea may be formed of the progress which has been made up to this time.

No. of Schools of which statistics were taken.	No. of Teachers.	Number holding certificates.	Percentage of certificated Teachers.	Total number of Teachers calculated from the preceding columns for 3,202 schools.	Calculated Total No. of certificated Teachers.	Calculated Total No. of uncertificated Teachers.
74	89	40	44·9	3,851	1,731	2,120

Taking the average from the above, the number of certificated teachers in all the schools of the North-West is found to be 1,731 only. But I am sure that the number of certificated men is larger than that. The different Normal Schools abovenamed, have been in operation on an average for 12 years, and as they work at very high pressure, sending forth with certificates all the pupils they admit once, and in some cases twice, every year, the number of Normal certificate holders in the North-Western Provinces must be nearer 4,000 than 2,000. The difference in the numbers of certificate holders and certificated teachers may be accounted for by assuming that many do not continue long in the education service, and that some cannot enter it, as being no better than those whom they are intended to replace. It may be assumed then, as pretty near the correct rate of progress, that 1,700 unqualified teachers are replaced by certificated men in 12 years. As there remain 1,471 more schools to be provided with trained teachers, some ten years more will be gone before that object can be accomplished. I have not in the above calculations taken into account the various contingencies which would necessarily occur, nor have I alluded to the increase still being made to the number of village schools, whose additional requisition for trained men must be met from the Normal Schools. Such considerations would further disturb the calculations above made, and go to prove that the result contemplated must be put off to a yet more distant date.

17. I have omitted to mention that of late years the practice has come into vogue of appointing past Tehsili pupils to the charge of the village schools. As these have some knowledge of the books they are required to teach, the teachers thus improvised are infinitely better than what were available at the first commencement of operations But neither these men, who have received no special training for teaching, nor the men from the Normal Schools, who come out with half a year's training, are likely to be of a stamp to strike out a course for themselves out of the groove which their incompetent predecessors have made for them, more especially as the system of examinations in vogue, as already described, is neither very close, nor very searching. In Oudh they seem to be on their guard against the mistake made in the North West in starting schools without competent teachers. The Director of Public Instruction writes as follows :—

"A large outlay in training teachers is necessary before schools can be opened with any chance of success." (Education Report, Oudh, for 1866-67, page 5).

In the Panjab likewise the error seems to have been detected, and one would hope not too late. One of the School Inspectors says, "We should try to obtain for these posts residents of the villages or their neighbourhood, men acquainted with the people, by whom they will be surrounded and accustomed to country life. A short term of training in the Normal School would suffice to qualify such men for the work expected of them, and they will be well content to serve in the neighbourhood of their homes for what anywhere else could scarcely afford a bare subsistence. What is most wanted is more care in the

selection of men who are sent to the Normal School, and security that they shall take service in the schools after completing their course of study."

18. It seems from all that has preceded that the great work of the improvement of national education has afforded but superficial results under the North-West system, and that the error committed in starting numerous village schools over the country, before provision had been made for qualified teachers for them, cannot easily be remedied. I would presume to advise, therefore, that in any attempts that may be made to extend vernacular education in Bengal, the same error may be carefully avoided. If the maxim that education ought to descend has no universal authority, and may be supposed not to be binding under all circumstances, its truth is undeniable when it is interpreted to mean that the teacher must know before he can communicate. It is preposterous to place that before which ought to come behind. Normal Schools should precede village schools.

CHAPTER IV.

1. I now come to speak of the means, in money, at the disposal of the Departments of Public Instruction in the different Provinces. The expenditure in each province, for the year 1866-67, is epitomised in the tabulated form given below.

Provinces.	Total Revenue.	Expenditure of the Education Department.					Percentage of Grant to Revenue.	Remarks.
		From Imperial Funds.	From Education Cesses.	From Municipal Taxes.	From Fees, &c.	From Endowments, Subscriptions, and other local sources.		
	Rs.	Rs.	(*a*) Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		
North-West	5,14,65,798	7,74,009	2,97,720	(*b*)	71,522	88,044	1·50	
Panjab ..	3,25,54,624	5,92,605	2,50,810	(*b*)	17,477	1,10,031	1·82	
Oudh ..	1,30,76,628	1,54,678	56,719	(*b*)	4,048	59,426	1·18	
Bengal ...	13,91,03,745	13,85,762	Nil.	Nil.	4,96,708	4,08,221	·99	

(*a*) In the N. W. P. Reports the education cess is not shown separately, but its probable amount, as given here, has been estimated from the returns of two of the Inspectorial Circles. See page 41.
(*b*.) The Municipal contributions are not shown separately in any of the reports.

From the above table, it will be observed (1) that the imperial grant for education in the different provinces is unequal in respect of the imperial revenue they respectively yield; (2) that the education cess levied from the Agricultural classes of the other provinces is altogether *nil* in Bengal; (3) that the contributions from the Municipal funds are unknown in Bengal; and (4) that the income from schooling fees is very considerably greater in Bengal than elsewhere.

2. On the first point, namely, the inequality of the imperial grant, I need say nothing, especially as a certain part of the revenue now credited to Bengal should, on an exact adjustment of accounts being made, go to the credit of some of the other provinces. The inequality will in that case appear to be somewhat

less. Besides, as every fresh year the grants to Bengal from the imperial revenues increase at a higher rate than the grants to the other provinces, the inequality adverted to will in all likelihood very shortly disappear altogether.

3. With regard to the cess, I shall observe that as in the educational policy adopted by Government in Bengal, the instruction of the masses was left to be accomplished in time by the voluntarily efforts of the people themselves, such a provision as the cess was not deemed requisite in this province. When the memorable despatch of 1854, which marked an era in the history of education in this country, had broadly laid down the great principle of grants-in-aid, the system which was introduced found Bengal far better prepared for its reception than any other part of the empire. The progress of the grant-in-aid system has been accordingly very rapid in Bengal, and it is still extending itself so widely over the country, that a limit to its possible extension cannot yet be definitely assigned. It is owing probably to this success of the grant-in-aid system in Bengal, that in all the measures adopted up to this time the principle of that system has been kept steadily in view. The few steps taken subsequently to the despatch of 1859, which had laid down that "Government efforts should be directed to help those who cannot help themselves," did not, it would seem, depart very widely from the grant-in-aid principle which had impressed itself so strongly on the educational policy of Bengal. The Circle system at first, and then the Patshala scheme, both of which were intended to push forward primary education here, recognised the efforts which the people were making in their indigenous schools, and were based upon those institutions. In doing this, the Circle and the Patshala schemes proceeded on the grant-in-aid principle. But it may not be unnecessary to say that as long as there remain at the lower strata of society, a vast mass of poverty, ignorance, and superstition, the grant-in-ai dsystem, howsoever modified, must still fail to probe it to the bottom. There are those who will not and cannot help themselves, and who draw a boundary line which the grant-in-aid principle of helping those who help themselves cannot overleap. Whether or not it would be wise and advisable to wait until the grant-in-aid system has worked down to this line and discovered it plainly, is a different question altogether. Such a course would be disagreeable to the feelings of benevolence, but it would avoid great practical difficulties and very serious errors of administration.

4. Respecting the third point for remark, namely, the contributions from municipal taxation to the education funds of the other provinces, I may observe that as yet the municipal taxes do not yield a surplus anywhere in Bengal. The municipalities here are not so rich, generally speaking, as those of the North-West. The Octroi duties levied at the large trading cities of those provinces yield a revenue which is in almost all cases more than sufficient for their conservancy and improvement. In passing through them, one sees at once the difference between them and the cities of Bengal. The roads and drains are in better repair, and the bazars and market-places are built on a more uniform plan, and are kept in better order. At some of these places there are public gardens and promenades and halls, to the creation of which the municipal funds have largely contributed, and which are kept in order by those

funds entirely. But not only are the cities of the North-West larger and more important and populous than those of Bengal, the villages there also are, as a rule, far more compact than the Bengal villages. Their compactness is such as to have lately suggested the idea of placing them likewise under a sort of Municipal Government. Such an idea could not be entertained about the more widely dispersed villages of the Lower Provinces. Under such circumstances, there is but little likelihood that for a long time to come municipal taxes in Bengal will afford any help to the educational expenditure of this province. But whether they do so or not, the fact is clear that in all the provinces, except Bengal, the education departments received contributions not only from the agricultural communities, in the form of the cess, but likewise from the municipalities in such sums as they either directly make over to the department, or spend on the improvement of the school houses and for other similar purposes. Now, as already observed, the municipal taxes are derived almost entirely from the Octroi duties, which, falling upon the consumers of the articles on which those duties are levied, are paid in fact by all the citizens without exception. The inference is that, directly or indirectly, in large or in small measure, every class of the community, the land and householders, as well as the merchant and the tradesman, is made to bear, though as yet but slightly, the burden of educational expenditure in those provinces. The case is widely different in Bengal. The only contributions which the people directly make here to the cause of national education are in the shape of subscriptions, donations, and schooling-fees.

5. The schooling-fees and subscriptions form the third point for remark. These may be considered to constitute a species of education tax, which is paid by the parties who are directly benefited. Its operation cannot be unhealthy. Those who pay it can refuse to do so at any moment by foregoing the advantages. If a school is not well conducted, people will not pay for their boys going to it, and so the school will be closed. This is a certain guarantee of good management. The operation of all other taxes is different. A tax as such is supposed, especially in this country, to be a due of Government, call it by what name, and define its purposes as clearly as you will. People will pay it, and then, generally speaking, take no thought about it. They do not care to see how the tax is disposed of. At best, they can but look upon their individual payments as small and petty contributions to a large public fund spent for the public benefit in ways the wisdom of which must be determined by wiser heads than their own. Such a disposition of mind is not favourable to the growth of those lively feelings of interest in the popular mind for the absence of which in education nothing can make up. The payment of schooling-fees counteracts this disposition. People look upon these payments as the price they pay for a certain good. They examine, each according to his light, the quality of the article obtained. If it be deemed inferior, they murmur, complain, or give it up; if it has adequate value in their eyes, they not only remain content, but raise the price of the article by increasing the demand for it. The amount of fees paid at schools is therefore an index both of their good management as well as of the popular

interest in the schools. Bengal, considered from this point of view, leaves all the other provinces far behind. The fees and subscriptions raised in Bengal are 2·57 times those of the North-West, the Panjab, and Oudh taken together. The proportion they bear to the entire education cess of those provinces is as 3 to 2, and to the education cess and the fee-contributions taken together, as 18 to 19. It is not true, then, that the people of Bengal spend less on their own education than the people of the other provinces. The truth is, that in Bengal those only pay for education who benefit by it directly. The community at large, which benefits indirectly by the progress of education, does not pay in Bengal as in the other provinces. But in Bengal, as in every other part of the world, there is a vast body of men who want the ability and the inducement to pay for their own education ; who are unable and unwilling to pay any price for it, even in the shape of schooling-fees ; and who, if educated at all, must be educated at the expense of the community at large.

6. Such appears to me to be the broad and general view of the question of educational expenditure. Let those who appreciate education and can pay for it do so to the extent they are able in the shape of schooling-fees, in which form, as already shown, the disposal of the money they contribute remains partly under their own check and control. And let those who are too poor to pay for themselves be paid for by *general* taxation. The practice of raising local taxes and of spending them for the benefit of the particular places they are raised from, does not appear to be founded on any stronger grounds of abstract justice. Take the case of any local tax, there will be always found some of the tax-payers who cannot be shown to derive any direct benefit from the tax they pay. The assessment levied in their case is justifiable on the ground only of the indirect advantages they derive. The community at large always benefits indirectly by the spread of education. By parity of reasoning, the taxation of any section of the community for purposes of education does not seem to have any stronger grounds of justice to recommend it. While all the individuals who constitute such section pay their proper share of the tax, the educational benefit directly conferred is necessarily confined to a few of this body. The education cess, for example, is paid by the agriculturists of the North-West Provinces; but, as has been already seen, not only do they not all benefit by the village schools supported by that cess, but other classes of the community benefit by them even more largely than they do

7. Indeed, the administrative difficulties appear to be considerable which have been imposed on the Departments of Public Instruction in the North-West, the Panjab, and Oudh, by such local and sectional taxation as supply a part of the funds there, and which place the Departments under the obligation to spend those portions on the objects deemed appropriate for each. The theory, for instance, is that the cess fund must be expended on the village schools, and the imperial on Direction, Inspection, and the higher schools and colleges. I am doubtful, however, if this theory has been strictly adhered to in practice. The cess fund is devoted to various purposes, many of which, though subserving the end of indirectly benefiting the village schools, appear yet not to confine the benefit to them alone. I have no reason to doubt my information

that *Dhurmshalas* (boarding houses for pupils) are partly supported from this fund, and a large number of the Normal School stipends are also paid from it. Cases are not unknown in the North-West in which small shortcomings in the establishments of the Tehsili Schools have been made up from the cess fund, and in the Punjab the Town Schools depend very much, if not altogether, upon this source of revenue. In the Panjab the *Chief-Mahurars*, who constitute the paid administrative agency for the village schools, get their salaries from the cess fund. I am not exactly aware from what fund they pay for *Khillats* given away at the education *Durbars*. But I suppose that these are also sometimes debited to the cess fund. These circumstances go to prove that the theory which limits the expenditure of funds derived from local or sectional taxation strictly to the objects of that taxation cannot be adhered to very closely in practice. If nothing else, the rules which impose such limits have to be very liberally interpreted, thereby proving clearly the inexpediency of such rules. It seems to me therefore to be equally consistent with justice to provide the means for education of the poorer classes by general, as by local or sectional taxation, and to be a course far more expedient.

8. I shall now proceed to estimate the actual cost of the village schools in those parts where the cess is levied. One way would be, to take the outlay from the entire cess fund of each province as representing its expenditure on village schools. This would include both the direct and the indirect expenditure upon them. The other course would be to leave out of consideration every item that is not spent on the village schools directly.

The latter is usually adopted in Bengal on such occasions. I shall follow both ways one after the other. The expenditure for 1866-67 on the village schools of the different provinces, which includes of course the regular annual outlay on prizes, but none of the other indirect charges, not even the extraordinary charge for school houses, is shown in the following Table.

Provinces.	No. of Schools.	Pay of Teachers.	Prizes.	Total.	Average Pay of Teachers per annum.	Average Cost for Schools per annum.	Remarks.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	(*a*). Education Report, Oudh, 1866-67, page 27.—"As the majority of the schools have been open less than a year, the average expenditure (Rs. 40) per school is not to be taken as the normal rate. The average ordinary cost of village schools will probably eventually be about Rs. 100 per annum per school."
North-West ...	3,202	1,92,876	9,600	2,02,476	60·2	63·2	
Panjab ...	1,660	1,59,331	6,400	1,65,731	95·9	99·8	
Oudh ...	264	10,406	212	10,618	(*a*) 39·4	40·2	(*b*). The actual cost per school per annum is Rs. 60 in Bengal. It appears less here, because a large number of the schools have been working less than 12 months.
Bengal ...	882	25,147	Nil	25,147	(*b*) 28·5	28·5	

It is seen from the above that the average cost per school per annum is in Bengal Rs. 60, in the North-West Rs. 60-2, in the Panjab Rs. 95-9, and in Oudh Rs. 100. In proceeding to tabulate, as I now propose to do, the charges, direct and indirect, current as well as extraordinary, of the village schools for the same year, I meet with one difficulty which it is necessary to explain. The accounts as they appear in the printed Reports make it impossible, without very minute investigations, to exhibit the entire income and expenditure of the village schools under their several heads, and apart by themselves. I am unable therefore to promise strict accuracy in the following table :—

PROVINCES.	No. of Village Schools.	Pay of Teachers.	Prizes.	Normal School Stipends.	Extraordinary, such as					Total.	Average per School.	REMARKS.
					School Houses.	Dhurmshalas.	Scholarships.	Khillats.				
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.					Rs.	Rs.	
North-West ...	3,202	1,92,870	9,600	58,996 (a)	32,572	...	...	...	...	2,94,044	91·8	(a) The expenditure from the cess fund is not shown distinctly in the N. W. P. reports. I have been led to think, however, that if I put down half to the account of the village schools, I shall be under, and not above, the mark.
Panjab ...	1,660	1,59,331	6,400	16,775	3,966	...	...	...	...	1,86,472	112·3	
Oudh ...	264	19,406	212	20,448	Nil.	...	...	...	...	31,066	117·6	
Bengal ...	822	25,147	Nil.	46,620	Nil.	...	...	...	...	71,767	87·3	

The average expenditure per annum per school, calculated from the above table, is Rs. 87·3 for Bengal, Rs. 91·8 for the North-West, Rs. 112·3 for the Panjab, and for Oudh Rs. 117·6.

9. There remains still another consideration which must be fully entered into before the actual state of things can become perfectly clear. The cost of the inspecting agency employed in the different provinces must enter into calculations. Here, however, a great difficulty has to be met at the outset. In Bengal, there is a distinct inspecting agency employed for the village schools. Such is not the case in any of the other provinces. In them the same inspecting agency is employed both for the superior schools, Government or aided, as well as for the inferior village schools. It is somewhat nice work, under such circumstances, to apportion the cost of inspection so that the correctness of the division made may not be called in question. The number of schools, Government, aided, and village, in the different provinces, where a distinct inspecting agency is not employed, will be seen in the following table :—

Provinces.	Government schools.	Aided schools.	Total.	Equivalent to how many village schools.	Female schools.	Total of the last two columns.	Village schools.	Proportion of inspectional charges for village schools.	Do. do. for aided schools.
North-West ...	280	180	460	2,300	409	2,709	3,202	·54	·46
Panjab	46	58	104	520	18	538	204	·33	·67
Oudh	113	100	213	1,065	947	2,012	1,660	·45	·55

The average attendance at Government schools is 67, in aided schools 65, and in the village schools 19. Now, leaving the necessary margin on account of the high standards taught at the Government and aided schools, we may put down that, so far as the time and labour of inspection are concerned, five village schools are equivalent to one Government or one aided school. No one who has seen what the Government and aided schools are in those parts, will be inclined to place a higher value on them for inspectional purposes. Some of the zillah schools are but converted Tehsili schools, and some of the aided schools are only Halqas with an A. B. C. class of English. It would now be easy to calculate what part of the cost of the inspecting agency ought to be placed to the account of the village schools. It must be remembered, however, that as the higher English schools, Government or Missionary, are not inspected by the Deputy and Sub-Deputy Inspectors, nor by the *chief Mahurirs*, the cost of the subordinate inspecting agency must be placed entirely to the account of the village schools, a very slight deduction being made, owing to the Tehsili or town schools which have to be visited by them in addition to the village schools. These circumstances induce me to put down two-thirds of the cost of the superior, and four-fifths of that of the subordinate inspecting agency to the account of the village schools. The exact expenditure on those schools in the several provinces may now be seen, as in the following table :—

Provinces.	No. of village schools	Expenditure.		Cost of Inspection.	Total	Average	Remarks.
		Direct.	Indirect.				
		Rs	Rs	Rs.	Rs.	Rs	
North-West	3,202	2,02,476	91,868	77,000	3,81,044	119	
Panjab	1,660	1,65,731	20,741	33,000	2,21,472	144	
Oudh	264	10,018	20,418	6,000	37,066	140	
Bengal	862	25,147	46,620	35,985	1,07,752	122	

10 The above Table shows, as nearly as possible, the actual expenditure on the village schools of the several provinces. But I have yet to make an excep-

tion for Bengal. As elsewhere stated, the fees collected at the village schools of Bengal belong to the teacher and form a very substantial part of his income. These must now be taken into account. The amount of schooling fees realized by the teachers for the last four years will be seen from the table subjoined.

Years.	No. of Village Schools.	Fees realized	Remarks.
		Rs.	
1863-64	183	1,021	
1864-65	380	11,670	
1865 66 .	539	26,876	
1866-67	703	18,370	Famine year.
Total	1,805	57,937	

The average amount of fees collected per annum per school in Bengal is thus seen to be about Rs. 32. This sum must be added to the cost of the Bengal village schools, and the exact cost of each in the several provinces will then be as in the Table below.

Provinces.	Cost of Village Schools per annum per School	Remarks.
	Rs.	
North-West	119	
Panjab	133	
Oudh	140	
Bengal	154	

The above Table shows that the expenditure on the village schools of Bengal is greater than that on the village schools of the North-West and the Panjab. This is owing, as may be seen from the Tables, to the circumstance that the village teacher here demands higher remuneration. In order to ascertain if this larger demand on his part is justifiable on any ground, it is necessary, first of all, to enquire if there be any difference in the cost of living in the different

provinces. The result of my enquiries on this subject is given in the following Statement :—

Provinces.	Articles of food used by the poor.	Cost per annum of a family consisting of five persons.
		Rs.
North-West	Janar, Sama, Kodo, Basai, Sag, Urdi, Sattu ...	84
Panjab	Wheat, Joar, Urdi, &c. ...	72
Bengal	Rice, dal, fish, sag, &c. ...	120

We must add to the above, charges for clothing, for repairs to the thatch, and for medicine, and then the cost per family will stand in Bengal as 150 Rupees, in the North-West as 104 Rupees, and in the Panjab as 92 Rupees. The cost of living in Bengal is thus 46 and 58 Rupees greater than in the North-West and the Panjab respectively. In Bengal, accordingly, the village teacher draws about as much more pay than the village teacher of the other provinces. Diversity in the cost of food must deversify the rate of labour-wages of every description, those of the village teacher not excepted.

CHAPTER V.

1. The land cess is the most distinguishing feature of the North-West system of education, and of all the other systems which have grown out of it. The cess affords facilities for educational expenditure, of which we can form but a faint idea here. Does a school want assistant masters? It is not necessary to go up to Government, or to show that surplus fees are available to cover the additional outlay required for entertaining a new hand. Is a boy found worthy of encouragement? A scholarship may be created on his behalf. If the Editor of some newspaper has deserved patronage, a large number of copies for distribution to the village schools may be at once subscribed for. The cess fund is always available to answer every call of the department. There can be no lack of rewards by which to stimulate pupils, or teachers, or Patwaris, or Mohurers, or Sub-Deputies, or Deputies, or Tehsildars. The cess fund is like a perennial stream, skilfully divided into a thousand different channels, refreshing and fertilizing the whole education system of the provinces where it exists.

2. The nature of the cess is not very well understood in Bengal. Some consider it to be nothing more than a part of the land revenue set aside by Government for the primary instruction of the agricultural classes. Others suppose the cess to be a voluntary contribution on the part of the proprietors

of land. There is a third party who regard the cess as a tax on land for the purposes of education. The fact is that all these three characters appertain to the education cess of the North-West.

3. In the first place, it is, in some measure, the land revenue of Government set apart for education, as may be seen from the rules laid down by Government for its collection. When a new settlement or revision of settlement is made for an estate, the Collector ascertains the exact rental assets of the estate, and *first* deducts from those assets one per cent. on account of the cess. It is *after* this deduction has been made, and not until then, that the Government demand is determined. Now, under such a process, Government must necessarily pay a part of its revenue to the education fund. I shall try to make this point more clear. Suppose the gross rental of an estate to be Rs. 1,000, and the Government demand for revenue to be fifty per cent. of the rental. If the Government *jumma* be determined before the one per cent. is deducted, it will be Rs. 500. But if the Government *jumma* be fixed *after* the deduction of the cess from the moiety, Rs. 500, the Government demand will be Rs. 497½, and not Rs. 500.* In fact, then, the education cess is constituted of two distinct parts, one of which is contributed by Government from its revenue, and the other given by the landholders from their rent. I subjoin an extract from the Circular, No. 9, dated 6th June, 1857, of the Sadr Board of Revenue, North-Western Provinces. "The Government and the public generally share directly in the benefits derived from the school

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Circular Order No. 18.

Dated Agra, the 16*th Nov.*, 1855.

To all Revenue Authorities in the North-Western Provinces.

Doubts having been entertained respecting the mode of computing the Road Fund and other cesses adverted to in paragraph 42 of the Shaharunpore settlement instructions, the following exemplar, which has been submitted to and approved by Government, as most in accordance with the intent of the rule above mentioned, is circulated for the information and guidance of settlement officers.

EXEMPLAR.

			Rs. As. P.
Rental assets			1,000 0 0
DEDUCT.			
Road Fund, 1 per cent. of the moiety (Rs. 500)	5 0 0		
School Fund, 1 per cent.	5 0 0		
District Dâk, ¼ per cent.	1 4 0		
	11 4 0		
Chowkidar, per annum	36 0 0		
		47 4 0	
		Rs. 952 12 0	
Jumma (953÷2) = ...		476 0 0	
Fractions of a rupee being omitted from Jumma.			
ADD.			
Road Fund	5 0 0		
School Fund	5 0 0		
District Dâk	1 4 0		
Chowkidar	36 0 0		
		47 4 0	
Total demand		Rs. 523 4 0	

(Sd.) W. H. HAMMOND,

Secretary.

fund, and it is therefore proper that the expense on these accounts should be debited against the rental assets before proceeding to the calculation of the *Jumma*, so that the remainder of the rental only shall contribute the sum of which one-half is to form the Government *Jumma*, and the other half to cover the profit, risk, and expense of the proprietors. The Government will thus share fairly with the proprietor the expense of those objects which are of equal concern for all parties." The above will leave not the shadow of a doubt as to the view which has been taken that the cess is constituted partly of the Government revenue, and partly of the landholders' rental.

4. If further confirmation were required, it would be discovered in the nature of the arrangements which the Government made for the education cess in a part of the North-Western Provinces where the land revenue had been permanently settled. The districts of Azimgurh, Benares, Ghazipore, and Jounpore are under such a settlement. The landholders were induced by the Commissioner of the Division, Mr. Tucker, to come to an agreement binding themselves and their heirs to pay half per cent. on their *Jumma*, on condition that Government made up as much from their revenue. The view taken of the cess on that occasion was therefore in conformity with that so clearly and forcibly described in the Circular Order of the Sadr Board of Revenue already quoted.

5. It has been said that the injunctions of Government to fix the *Jumma* after the cess had been deducted from the rental, were not strictly observed in practice in all cases. This may or may not be the fact. But admitting that such has been the case here and there, or even generally, that circumstance can no more alter the nature of the cess, than the over-estimation by Collectors of the rental assets can raise the actual demand of Government beyond 50 to 60 or 70 per cent. Non-observance of rules laid down cannot sanction the practice, nor alter the nature of the thing.

6. A part of the education cess of the North-Western Provinces therefore is only the Government land revenue. What is the other part? A short sketch of the history of the Halqabandi system will throw light on the question. The Halqa schools came into being along with the cess, and have grown with its growth. The first Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces designed, in the educational policy he inaugurated, to improve the indigenous schools of the people, and not to establish Government village schools. After two years of labour in eight disticts, it was found that not only were the old schools incapable of improvement, but that these improvements, if effected, would not answer the purpose of providing within a short time for the elementary instruction of all the people of the province. In the eight districts in which the first experiment of improving the indigenous schools was being tried, there were 14,572 villages and towns, of which 12,934 had no schools of any kind. It was necessary to establish new schools. The district officers discussed the question with the zemindars, and the Collector of Matthura succeeded in persuading 56 villages of the Kassi Pergunnah, held entirely in *Bhyachara* tenure, to agree to pay from Rs. 4

to Rs. 36 per village per annum for the support of 14 new schools. In apportioning the cost of the schools among the several villages, the Collector considered their different capabilities for payment, and the cess levied on them varied from 8 annas to Re. 1-2 per cent. on the Government revenue. Such was the commencement (in 1851) of the Halqa schools and of the education cess. The system extended till in January 1857 there were 771 schools in four Districts,—Agra, Matthura, Etawa, and Mynpuri.

7. It is seen at once that the cess as above described was not imposed by Government, but was raised by local officers, after discussion with the zemindars; that it commenced in a district where no large proprietors existed, and that the rate at which it was levied was not uniform, but varied in accordance with the means of those who were called on to pay it. These circumstances place it beyond question that the education cess of the North-West was meant to be a voluntary contribution on the part of the landed proprietors. The Visitor General says accordingly, "The cess is raised by a voluntary contribution. Any zemindar may refuse to contribute. I am even doubtful how far a landholder who had engaged to pay his share could be legally compelled to do so in the event of his repudiating the engagement." The Visitor General explains the nature of the cess yet further:—"There can be no doubt," says he, "that many zemindars consent to pay their quota only because they are afraid to refuse. But I am assured that no Collector has failed to impress upon the agricultural community that they are at liberty to keep aloof from the general movement. Many are ashamed to say 'no' when their brothers say 'yes.'"

8. Whether or not the inducement to subscribe to the cess came in a stronger shape than "the sympathy of numbers" to which the Visitor General confines it, is a question into which it is unnecessary to enter. There are intelligent men in the North-West who believe in such stories as the following:—

(*a.*) There were, it is said, two officers holding high positions, who, whenever a native gentleman called upon them, used to ask if his name was in the list of those who had signed an *ikrarnamah* binding themselves to contribute towards education, and that if the answer was in the negative, admittance was refused.

(*b.*) It is said that a Collector had a list prepared of all the zemindars of his district, and that he placed a black mark against the names of all who had not agreed to pay the education cess. This circumstance led the Collector's Amla to nickname all such zemindars *shea ruh* (black face), while those who had subscribed, and had no black mark against their names, were called *saffed ruh* (white face). The memory of these nicknames has not yet died away in the North-West.

I repeat that I do not vouch for the truth of these stories. But I know that they pass current in native society, and are not disbelieved by intelligent men. Whether well founded or not, the popular impression seems to be that the influence of the local officers was stretched in order to persuade the people to

contribute to the cess. The Government of the North-Western Provinces were not unaware that such an impression existed in the popular mind, and they accordingly wrote in their Circular No. 164, dated 28th February, 1859, that—"It must be borne in mind that, whether in respect to contributions to the maintenance of the Halqabandi schools, or the attendance of their children at those or any other schools, the people must be left absolutely to their own discretion and their own will." Thus the principle that the contributions by the people of their part of the education cess was meant to be perfectly voluntary, is clearly seen.

9. The cess, however, is no longer what it was. It has been already modified in some measure into a tax, and is undergoing such changes as will ere long render it a tax completely. In the North-Western Provinces, the settlement of the land revenue being periodical, Government possess the power at every revision of settlement to increase their demand for land revenue, as well as to lay additional taxes on land. After, therefore, the collection of the education cess had proceeded on the voluntary principle in certain districts and parts of districts, it was determined to introduce the cess generally throughout all the districts, taking advantage of the opportunities which presented themselves as old settlements expired and new ones had to be made. The sanction of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors being obtained, the education cess was first introduced by Government in 1857, on the re-settlement of the district of Saharunpore. The Revenue Officers were thenceforth directed as follows :—"Besides the settlement for the Government demand, separate engagements should be taken for the payment in addition of one per cent. on the Government demand for the road fund, for an equal amount for the school fund, and for one-quarter, or four annas per cent., for the district *dák*, all to be engaged for as part of the revenue of the Mehal, and payable with the Government demand into the Tehsili, and to be realizable by all the processes applicable to recovery of arrears of revenue." All estates settled after the date of the above order, pay the education cess at the uniform rate of one per cent., no longer as a voluntary contribution, but as a tax; while all those estates which entered into engagements to pay the cess under the persuasion of the local Officers, and whose settlements have not yet expired, pay at such rates as they engaged for as a voluntary contribution. There are some estates again from which no cess is yet levied. These are those which did not enter into engagements, and whose settlements are not yet over.

10. The nature of the education cess of the North-West Provinces, therefore, is this. It is a nominally voluntary contribution from the landed proprietors, covered in part by the Government land revenue, and so dealt with on each new settlement of revenue as to lose the appearance it had at the commencement of being a voluntary payment. I tabulate below the income from the cess as obtained in two of the Inspecting Circles of the North-West.

No.	Districts.	Land Revenue.			Education Cess.			Remarks.
		Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	
1	Allahabad	2,038,683	13	4	11,239	11	10	
2	Azimgurh	1,490,670	0	1	7,456	8	0	
3	Banda	304,584	3	6	13,121	6	8	
4	Benares	902,782	5	7	2,786	7	6	
5	Busti	1,327,017	8	0	13,323	8	1	
6	Futtehpur	1,423,759	4	8	5,817	1	2	
7	Gazeepur	151,479	11	8	6,961	11	7	
8	Gorukpur	1,616,239	0	0	16,162	1	4	
9	Jounpur	1,193,465	11	0	6,250	9	0	
10	Mirzapur	844,896	9	0	4,390	1	11	
11	Etawa	1,199,533	0	0	12,096	0	0	
12	Agra	1,616,327	0	0	17,076	10	4	
13	Cawnpur	2,137,381	0	0	8,564	8	3	
14	Etah	730,743	0	0	7,296	14	6	
15	Furukabad	1,123,907	0	0	3,020	5	4	
16	Hamirpur	1,074,838	0	0	10,918	8	2	
17	Jalon	871,956	0	0	6,145	0	0	
18	Jhansi	476,370	0	0	4,800	0	0	
19	Lullutpur	153,504	0	0	702	9	5	
20	Matthura	1,652,347	0	0	9,377	3	10	
21	Mynpuri	1,117,312	0	0	12,525	9	8	
	Total ...	25,811,059	2	10	1,77,032	3	1	

11. I have heretofore confined my description of the education cess to as it obtains in the Upper Provinces of the Bengal Presidency. The cess levied in the Panjab was introduced in 1855, or still earlier, and in the beginning did not differ in any essential particular from the North-West cess. At the commencement it was also a nominally voluntary contribution on the part of the proprietors of land, as may be seen from the following passage of the report of the Director of Public Instruction, Panjab :—" Before the formation of the Panjab Education Department, the agriculturists of several zillahs were induced by District Officers to contribute a small percentage on the land revenue for the support of schools." Subsequently, an order was issued in 1856 to the effect that where the settlement had not been completed, one per cent. on the revenue should be levied for the maintenance of village schools, and that in other cases District Officers should induce the people voluntarily to subscribe to the cess. If for some time at the commencement the one per cent. cess was levied *before* determining the Government Jumma on estates assessed, as directed under the North-West Government orders already quoted in the case of that province, the practice was not of long continuance in the Panjab, where the cess soon came to be levied *after* the Government Jumma had been fixed; and by 1864 every district of the Panjab proper paid at the uniform rate of one per cent. in addition to the Government demand. The voluntary element has thus entirely disappeared, and the cess now constitutes a part of the general revenue of the province. The expenditure of the cess fund is therefore not confined in the Panjab to the use of village schools only. The town and female schools are supported upon this fund; the school Mahururs' salaries are paid from it; a large number of the Normal school stipends

are debited to the cess; and the *Sarkari Akhbar* (Government newspaper) is also conducted at the cost of this fund. The fund is, in fact, a general fund, and "the expenditure is in some localities much larger than the income, and in others much less." Local expenditure has, in fact, come to adjust itself to local requirements in the Panjab, and it would be a retrograde step, no doubt, to proceed now to adjust expenditure on the principle of equalising it to the income from the different localities.

12. In Oudh, this principle, namely, that the cess is part of the general revenue of the province, has been carried out still more fully, as may be seen from the following quotation from the Chief Commissioner's Circular of July 1861 :—

"The levy of any cesses, in addition to the Government demand proper, is viewed with great suspicion by the people, who regard them as exactions to which no limit can be assigned; and by far the preferable course, in the Chief Commissioner's opinion, is to include all cesses in the Government demand, and to set aside from the general revenues thus raised, a fixed proportion for specific objects. * * * The Chief Commissioner has, therefore, with the consent of Government, determined to fix the Government demand at 51¼ per cent. of the average gross rental, and of this sum 50 per cent. will be credited to Government and 1¼ will remain at the disposal of the local Government, to be devoted to the purposes as shown below :—

1.	Road Fund, in the proportion of	½ per cent.
2.	School Fund	½ per cent.
3.	District Dâk	⅛ per cent.
4.	Margin	⅛ per cent."

From the above, it is clear that the cess as levied in Oudh has, *in the eyes of the people*, the appearance of being a part of the imperial revenue. Its wearing such an appearance was indeed considered by the Chief Commissioner as its greatest recommendation. For in the Circular above quoted it is said that, "the people greatly prefer this course, as they then consider that the State, by devoting a portion of its revenue to the maintenance of institutions calculated to confer great public benefits, is performing its proper functions, towards which they should not be called on to contribute." In the eyes of the local Government itself, the cess is neither a voluntary contribution on the part of the people, nor a part of the imperial revenue, but simply a general tax on land levied for the purpose of extending primary education in the province.

13. I cannot close this chapter without alluding to an important change which has been attempted to be introduced of late in the local cesses of the North-Western Provinces. On its introduction being completed, the education cess will come to be in that province exactly what it is in Oudh, *i.e.*, looked on by the

people as part of the imperial revenue expended on education, and by the local Government as a general education tax on landed property.

The landholders of the Aligurh district in the North-Western Provinces submitted an application, dated 16th May, 1866, to the local Government, in which they urged as follows :—

" That while your petitioners pay for the expense of education, it is obviously a hardship that they should not be allowed to take any part in the management of the system (of education), or exercise any control over the disbursement of the funds."

The local Government refused to admit the claims of the petitioners, and in its resolution, dated 14th July, 1866, observed as follows :—

" It is urged as a hardship that those who pay for the expenses of education should not be permitted to take any part in the management of the system, or exercise any control over the disbursement of the funds ; but the same argument might obviously be used in respect of the Government of the country generally, and the application of the land revenue and other taxes. * * * * As respects the amount actually contributed by the landholders towards education, it may be true they have paid their quota in the one per cent. cess over and above the original sum assessed as land revenue ; but it is not alleged that they have been over-taxed ; and in another year or two, this arrangement will come to an end, and a new one will be made on the liberal terms now sanctioned by Government, by which a consolidated sum of only 55 per cent. of the net assets of land is taken by the State, which includes all local cesses, and the remaining 45 per cent. is conceded to the zemindar ; so that, in fact, the whole of the local cesses will in future be defrayed, not by the landowner, but out of the share of the rent which has always been the admitted right of the State. Upon this ground, therefore, no claim to any control or management of the funds on the part of the zemindars could for a moment be sustained."

The education cess of the North-West is thus about to undergo a second transformation, which will give it the character of a general local tax in the eyes of the Government, and of a grant from imperial revenues in the eyes of the people. This is the character which, as already seen, the education cess has taken in Oudh.

14. The history of the local cesses which has been traced in this chapter should, I humbly think, teach us to do away with the voluntary principle altogether in the levying of them. The voluntary principle exists only in name in the beginning, and acts as an encumbrance which cannot be got rid of without much difficulty afterwards. Secondly, it should teach us to remember that a cess on

landed property alone, for educational expenditure, can fully answer its purpose only where the Government assessment on land can be increased or diminished at the will of Government. Thirdly, it teaches the inexpediency of binding the Department of Public Instruction to expend the proceeds of local cesses to meet local requirements only. "Education cesses," in the words of the Government of the North-Western Provinces, "are imposed for the benefit of the community at large, and rigidly to localise the funds would be to counteract that object."

CHAPTER VI.

The strength of the popular interest in favour of any system of public education is at once the best proof of its past success, and an earnest of its still greater success in the future. On the other hand, if a system of public instruction has failed to awaken lively interest in the people, it may be considered not to have answered its purpose, and to bear no promises for the future. The examination, therefore, of the system of Government education, as prevailing in the North-West, cannot be complete without pointing out what amount of popular feeling in its favour it has succeeded in calling forth. I do not allude here to the other provinces, because the educational systems commenced to work in them from a comparatively recent date, and have not yet had time to show whether they can, or cannot, produce the necessary impression on the people. It may be a question, too, with some, if the North-West system itself is of sufficiently long standing to be judged of by its effects on the popular mind.

2. If, however, any one of the educational systems can be placed on its trial in respect of the fruits it has produced, it is the vernacular system of the North-West, which has the advantage of age over all the other systems, that of Bengal not excepted. Previously to the great despatch of 1854, Government had done almost nothing for vernacular education in this Province. But the Halqabandi system was inaugurated in 1849 in the North-West Provinces. A comparison, therefore, of Bengal with the North-West cannot be deemed unfair to the latter.

3. In proceeding to institute such a comparison, however, certain preliminary points have to be settled. The question, in which of the two Provinces, Bengal or the North-West, is the popular interest in favour of vernacular education greater, can only be answered to any purpose after ascertaining by what tests the strength of popular interest in education is to be judged. The tests, especially such as are supplied by departmental statistics, are not far to seek. They consist in the increased number and the stability of the schools, in a numerous and regular attendance of children, and in large collections of fees. The other and more infallible test, which faulty statistics cannot affect, is the effect produced on popular manners, morals, and language.

4. To the statistical tests above specified, allusions have been made in the course of this report, and it is not necessary to repeat them. On coming to

apply the extra departmental tests, namely, the influence of education on manners, morals, and language, it is hardly necessary to premise that such influence is the necessary consequence of any true and real interest that the people may take in education. That instruction which does not influence the conduct of the pupils, is but superficial and has no root. This is a truism. Nevertheless, when people come to the consideration of educational results, they often lose sight of it, and value an educational system the less for having achieved its object.

5. I shall now dwell on the first two of the three points—manners, morals, and language, in which the influence of education manifests itself.

(*a.*) The manners of the people in the North-West, which are largely borrowed from the Mahomedans, have not been perceptibly altered or influenced from what they were, say a quarter of a century ago. Probably changes in this respect were supposed to be denationalising, and were not desired. Very likely the strong and hardy North-West man is less susceptible of change than the weak and delicate Bengali. But very possibly also the impression which the education provided for the North-West man makes upon him is, *per se*, feebler than that made on the Bengali by the system prevailing in his part of the country.

(*b.*) With regard to the improvement in morals which is looked for under the progress of education, the best proof of success is afforded in Bengal by the character of the subordinate judicial and administrative services. It is not difficult to prove from the records of Government that native agency is far less valued in the North-West.

(*c.*) The third point, namely, the influence of education on language, I shall consider more fully.

6. It is well known, and is a subject for ridicule with many, that the language of common conversation in Bengal, among those who have received education in English, has become greatly interlarded with English words and phrases. This shows, among other things, that those who receive an English education become imbued with ideas for which words do not exist in their language. Besides, as words often express more than their simple dictionary significations, by means of the associations they call forth, the Bengali who knows English often finds himself under the necessity, in order to express his meaning fully, of using English words in many cases where Bengali equivalents for them are not wanting. My object, however, is not to defend the practice by accounting for it. I would merely point out how the *lingua franca* (half English and half Bengali) is the consequence of a want naturally felt under the circumstances. To feel a want and acknowledge it can be no subject for just reproach. To feel a want, and not exert ourselves to remove it, is certainly blameworthy.

7. In the North-West, a *lingua franca* (half English and half Urdu or Hindi) does not exist. This implies one of three things. First, that the Urdu

or Hindi were already such rich languages that people were able to express forcibly and precisely in those languages the new ideas introduced. Or, secondly, that the Urdu and Hindi speaking populations have not been sufficiently impregnated with new ideas to make them feel the poverty of their own dialects. Or, thirdly, that the vernacular system of education adopted for the people has had the effect of at once expanding their languages and adapting them to the requirements of the occasion.

8. Of these three suppositions, the first cannot stand. (1) To admit it—to admit that the Urdu and the Hindi were already able to express English ideas with perfect fulness and precision, would be tantamount to saying that the British have brought no higher culture into the North-West than the Mahomedan civilization which already obtained there. Besides, it is a universally acknowledged fact that the Hindi, sweet and simple as it is, is far less rich than the Urdu, which again is yet but a dialect, depending entirely for words as well as grammar on the Persian. (2) The second supposition, namely, that new ideas have as yet made but a feeble impression in the North-West, will, if admitted, set the whole question at rest. Arguments, after such an admission, will be wasted in proving this or that side. The utter failure of the system cannot be more strongly enunciated than by admitting that new ideas have made no impression, or but feeble impression, on the minds of the people of the North-West. (3) It is only necessary therefore to examine the third point, that the system of education introduced has had the effect of expanding the vernaculars, Hindi and Urdu, so as to enable the educated classes to meet their imperative natural necessity for expression.

9. The expansion of the Hindi and the Urdu dialects, if it has taken place to the extent required, must manifest itself in those thousand different ways in which the influence of new ideas, after assimilation to the national thought of a people, cannot fail to be discovered. New vigour is imparted to the national mind, and after a certain probationary stage a revival of letters is the consequence. Are there any such signs to be discovered in the North-West? Let an examination of facts answer the question. If the educational system of the North-West has produced any effect on the vernaculars of those parts, it must have done so by the books in those languages which it has produced, first for school use, secondly for general reading. If those books and the system of education generally, had produced any effect, popular tastes must have improved, general reading must have increased, now and good books must have appeared in numbers; even that little reading and writing which is required in the transactions of every-day life must have been improved, and the stereotyped forms of expression employed in the Courts made to feel the influence of the mighty impulse. I shall examine these several points one after another.

10. From the very commencement of their educational scheme, the Government of the North-Western Provinces directed their attention to the

preparation of a new series of school books. In Government Circular dated 1845 are found such passages as the following :—"A series of school-books is now in course of preparation, and will be shortly circulated. They will be short, very elementary, and strictly on the system now followed in all native schools." Circular 9th June, 1845, para. 12. Another Circular, dated 1845, was sent to the Collectors, covering large packets of books, directing their sale or gratuitous distribution. The series, as described in the Government Circular, consisted of four numbers :

"No. I. Such letters, words, and forms as are commonly taught in the village schools.

No. II. The elements of arithmetic according to the native method.

No. III. Numeration according to the native method.

No. IV. Forms of Patwari paper with explanation."

These constitute the series in Hindi and Urdu which it prominently noticed in the following passage of the scheme for village schools which the Government laid down. "No person is to be appointed school-master unless he fully understands and is able to explain and give instruction in Rai Ram Saran Das's four elementary books." To these the attention of the school-masters and Patwaris were confined for some years.

11. When Government came to entertain the proposal of founding Halqabandi and Tehsili Schools, a more advanced course of studies was framed. It was laid down in Resolution dated 9th February, 1850, that "the course of studies in the schools will consist of reading and writing the Vernacular languages, both Urdu and Hindi, accounts, and the mensuration of land according to the native system. To these will be added such instruction in Geography, Geometry, and History, or other general subjects, conveyed through the medium of the Vernacular language, as the people may be willing to receive." The Agra School-book Society was defunct, and Rai Ram Saran Das's series was now deemed too meagre. The compilation of books was taken in hand by the Department of Public Instruction, and by 1853-54 there were prepared, or in course of preparation, no less than 124 books in Urdu and Hindi. Of these books 21 were primers and grammars, 52 treatises on arithmetic and accounts and geometry, 4 on geography, 20 ethical tales, 4 histories, 8 elementary treatises on science, and 15 miscellaneous. The authors of these books, with the exception of three Civil Officers only, were all employées of the Education Department, from the Visitor General himself down to the assistant teacher of a Central school. The effort made on that occasion was very great indeed. The Education Department of the North-Western Pro-

vinces has not gone much beyond that time in the matter of compiling Vernacular school-books. A few more geographies and histories have been written, some of the old treatises have been replaced by new ones, especially in arithmetic, and many of the publications of those days have been improved and adapted. But the whole school series of the North-West may be fairly assumed to have been nearly completed by 1854-55. I must add that the books since written, with scarcely a single exception, have come, like their predecessors, from the hands of educational officers. Authors of school-books unconnected with the Department of Public Instruction have not, so far as I am aware, yet come into existence in the North-Western Provinces.

12. In Bengal, we have had to pass through stages similar to those described. The translations of the Missionary gentlemen of Sirampúr and the first publications of the Calcutta School-book Society do not advance much beyond the publications of the North-Western Education Department in a comparison of correctness of idiom or of general literary execution. But the Society's books have been now entirely discarded from the schools. The publications of the Society have had to stand a competition with private establishments in which they have not always gained. The Society has come to be an agency rather for the sale than for the preparation of books. The School Inspectors of Bengal know very well that every month of the year books come to their offices with letters from the authors soliciting preference on their behalf for introduction into schools Such competition is unknown in the North-West.

13. As for the merits of the school-books in use in the North-West, which, as already seen, have to stand no competition, I have not heard scholars speak very highly Passable is their most favourable verdict. On this subject I shall give an extract from a paper drawn up by a committee of the Aligurh Association, which consists of some of the most intelligent gentlemen of those parts, headed by probably the first Arabic scholar in India.

Extract from the Proceedings of the Local Educational Committee, Zillah Aligurh, held on the 6th of August, 1857.

1. Khayálát ul sanáyá The subject-matter excellent; but the book ought to be written anew. The style is vicious.

2. Subaddhi and Kubuddhi ká qissah. This is a story of two brothers, one good and the other bad. The subject-matter may be instructive, but the Urdu is wretched.

3. Inshá i Khirad Afróz. This is designed to teach how to write letters, petitions, perwanas, &c., but the style is verbose and inelegant. This

work ought to be replaced by another, which might indeed be a model for composition.

4. Táríkh i A'lam. This is compiled from Wilson's Universal History. The compiler is Mr. Kid. This book may be retained in the course of studies, if only the Greek names be spelt in the way they should be in Urdu.

5. Tahsíl ul hurúf—Urdu Primer. In private schools they learn all that is in this book without any book at all, and they learn it in less time and more thoroughly.

6. Qawíd i Urdu, 4 parts.—Urdu Grammar. Full of Arabic terms, most of which could be, and ought to have been, avoided. As it is, it is more an Arabic than a Urdu book.

7. Muzhir í Qudrut. The subject-matter good, but the book needs a very careful revision. The style is far from being perspicuous, and the idiom is incorrect.

8. Surajpúr ka qissah. This is a very dull, uninteresting story.

9. Haqáiq ul Manjúdát. This is a good book. If carefully revised, its usefulness will be unquestionable.

10. Jagráfiyá i A'lam. Not very objectionable.

11. Dharm Singh ka qissah. Nothing very interesting in the story itself, nor told in any interesting way.

12. Guldastah i Akhlaq. This is a treatise on morals. We would recommend it to be revised and re-written by some able man. The style is stiff, poor, and emasculate.

13. Mabadi ul hisáb. This is indeed a very valuable work on arithmetic. But arithmetic is, in our opinion, best taught *vivâ voce* by the teacher. As it is, this book has to be learnt by rote by the pupils.

14. Dastur ul Mash. This is a very good book, prepared by the able Mr. P. Ledby.

15. Hidáyatnámah i Patwárí. This is a book which is intended to teach the village accounts. It ought not to be made a class book for school use.

16. Qawáid i Paimáish. This book is an excellent treatise on mensuration.

17. Risálahi Kusúr i Ashariyah. This book is taught in the village schools, and is an excellent treatise on decimal fractions.

18. Pandnámah i Kastkáran. This is taught in the village schools. It is a work which the student ought to be able to understand by himself. It contains advice to landholders and cultivators.

"We are of opinion that the books taught in the schools are for the most part very unpopular, and deserve to be so."

14. When such are the merits of the books compiled by the Education Department, North-Western Provinces, for the use of their schools, it cannot be expected that books compiled for general reading under similar auspices should be very superior. The subject engaged the attention of the Education Department at an early date. So far back as 1853-54, the Visitor General is found writing, "We cannot ignore the further responsibility which our undertaking the duty of instructing the people in the art of reading, of opening their minds, and disciplining their intellects, has imposed upon us—that of maintaining a plentiful supply of healthy reading of wholesome mental food. This secondary duty neglected, our labours may bear in too many instances poisonous fruit. The pernicious publications which issue from the native presses at Lucknow, &c., &c., will obtain a far wider circulation, unless we anticipate and provide against the evil consequences by the issue of an honest, simple, and appreciable domestic literature, cheap, instructive, and interesting, adapted both to the pecuniary means and the mental constitution of the people." The absolute correctness of the view above expressed is unquestionable. The duty of instructing the people being undertaken, that of supplying a healthy reading for them follows of course. But school-books may be made to order, and their reading being prescribed, school-boys must read them. The same authority cannot penetrate into domestic circles. Private reading cannot be authoritatively prescribed. Books must make way there by their own merits, and the tastes of the people must be corrected and elevated before they will appreciate simple and honest reading. Such books, however, cannot be made to order, and school education, especially in such books as are in use in the North-Western vernacular schools, cannot go far to correct or elevate the taste of the people. The school-books not being such as could influence popular literature, were not made models of by those who were writers by profession.

15. In the book shops of the North-West we accordingly meet with works of a type quite different from that intended for general reading by the Education Department. None of these books are written by men who know English, or who have been brought up at the Government educational institutions. Except for the years marked on their title-pages one could hardly believe them to have been written during British rule. I give below the names and descriptions of some of these books which find most ready sale in the bazars.

Urdu books for general reading :—(1) Fisánah i Ajáib (Loves of Fairies) ; (2) Masnawis (love stories) ; (3) Bágh o bahár (love stories) ; (4) Alif Láila (Arabian

Nights); (5) Hatim Tai (Hatim's Adventures); (6) Diwan i Nasiq (poems) (7) Diwan i Atishi (poems); (8) Diwan i Rind (poems); (9) Diwan i Saudá (poems); (10) Diwan i Wazir (poems); &c., &c.

Hindi books for general reading:—(1) Tulshi Das's Ramayan (life of Ramchandra); (2) Premsagar (life of Krishna); (3) Sabhabilash (poems); (4) Brajabilash (Loves of Krishna); (5) Bahar Brindavan (Vedantic); (6) Rassupriá (poems); (7) Kabipria (poems); (8) Sundarsinha (poems); (9) Rus-raj (poems); (10) Satsya Bihari (poems); &c., &c.

16. In the bazars of Bengal, like books are found in no small numbers. But the difference is that although they are made much of here, and command the largest sale by far, they are not all in all. School-books are never altogether absent from the book-shops of Bengal, and very frequently other publications of a recent date may be met with, in which superior scholarship and mental discipline become manifest. The labours of the Vernacular Literature Society to provide healthy reading in Bengal have been of some use, but the labours of private authors have been far more effective.

17. There was another circumstance which struck me very forcibly while making enquiries in the bazaars about the sale of books. It proved strongly that the system of education pursued in the North-West had failed to produce any sensible impression on the common transactions of the people of those parts. A short digression is required to explain this circumstance fully. In the North-West there have been in use from a very early date not only the two characters Persian and Nagri for writing Urdu and Hindi respectively, but two other characters, called *Kaithi* and *Sarrafi*, both corruptions of the Nagri. The *Kaithi* and *Sarrafi* used to be taught at the indigenous schools, but have been always proscribed from the Halqa and other schools with which Government had any connection. The Government Resolution of the 8th June, 1852, followed by the order of the Sadr Board of Revenue, dated 10th August of the same year, finally expelled the *Kaithi* and the *Sarrafi* from the village accounts. But these have stood their ground among the people nevertheless. In the bazaars and shops of the larger cities, as of the smaller townships from Benares to Lahore, I found the Hindi shop-keepers still using the *Kaithi* in their letters of business, and *Sarrafi* in their account books. Such, however, could not have been the case if the Government system of education had really made that impression on the people which it was designed to make.

18. I may as well mention another fact in connection with this subject, and which I have not noticed elsewhere. The vernaculars of the North-West and the Panjab taken together are three. There are Urdu, Hindi, and Panjabi. The Urdu is written in Persian, the Hindi in Nagri, and the Panjabi in Gurumukhi characters. Throughout these provinces, the North-West as well as the Panjab, the only language used in the Courts is the Urdu. In schools they teach

the Urdu and the Hindi, and in many cases the Persian.* It is thus seen that the Government schools cannot as yet work among the real mass of the people, but address themselves more generally to the wants of those who seek for service in the courts of law as mukhtyars, mahurirs, and amlas. This circumstance, one might suppose, would affect the language of the Courts, and indeed it seems to have done so to a certain extent. The change produced, however, appears, in the opinion of many competent judges, to be an evil one. In Bengal, the language of the Law Courts, heretofore for obvious causes the most impure and corrupt form of the Bengali, has begun to show signs of greater purity and simplicity; but in the North-West and the Panjab, the Urdu of the Law Courts is becoming more and more inflated and filled with raw Persian and Arabic terms, which do not assimilate with the vernacular Urdu.

19. I find myself compelled to remark, after all the above considerations, that the application of the extra departmental test, regarding the improvement of thevernacular, yields a result no more favourable to the educational system of the North-West than the departmental statistics have been found to do. It is painfully apparent that while so much has been done by Government with something like parental solicitude for more than 20 years in establishing schools and preparing books for their use, the people still lie perfectly inert, and make no sign.

CONCLUSION.

I shall conclude this Report with the few following observations :—

1. The history of the educational system of the North-West shows that the local Government set out with the object of improving the indigenous schools of those provinces, and that, with a view to enlist the sympathies of the people on their side, it never lost occasion to impress upon the local and educational officers the necessity which existed for making it clear to the agricultural classes that they could neither know their duties nor defend their rights unless they improved their schools in the way they were directed. The Government of the North-Western Provinces were at first strongly disinclined to appoint teachers to village schools and pay them, lest such a practice should lead the teachers to look up to the Government exclusively, and neglect the conciliation of the people.

2. But this slow cautious plan was soon abandoned. The success of the local officers in raising the cess facilitated the establishment of schools, which, being under their direct management, afforded full scope to the tendency to raise the standard of school instruction, which is the necessary accompaniment of Government interference in the educational interests of the people. Probably, too, the simple interests of the agricultural classes, on which the educational system was

* It is not easy to understand what is implied in the following passage of the Panjab Administration Report for 1854 to 1856 inclusive —"It is most fortunate that the Panjab presents such peculiar facilities for the simplification of language."

designed to be established, appeared on trial to be too weak for its purpose. For it may be easily imagined that, rude and primitive as the village people were, they could not readily understand the connection that subsisted as cause and sequence between a knowledge of letters and the defence of their rights in land. To simple and unsophisticated people, to be able to defend one's own rights does not seem to require any long or round-about preparation. It is left by them invariably to common sense, to traditional instruction handed down from parents to children, and to the example and advice of friends and neighbours. Very few men, even in the higher circles of society, study the laws of their country simply to have a clear knowledge thereby of their duties and rights. Every human effort is made with a view to some positive good. The defence of one's rights is but a negative one. The acquisition of knowledge, especially at the rudimentary stage, is a very great effort; and in the eyes of the unlettered masses, knowledge as power or accomplishment has no value whatever.

3. From the natural weakness, therefore, of interest in education among the agricultural community, as well as from the facilities which presented themselves for adopting a different course, the policy laid down in the beginning was in the course of a very few years entirely departed from, and Government efforts were directed, not to the improvement of indigenous schools, but to provide for the instruction of the people by distributing new schools equally throughout the districts

4. How the system of village circles has worked, has been already seen in the course of this Report. The theory of equal distribution has broken down; the labouring agricultural classes have not been attracted to the schools in the proportion designed; the standard of studies has been raised above that of the indigenous schools, but not so considerably as may appear at first sight; and no perceptible influence has been exercised on the manners, habits, tastes, modes of thought and speech, of the community at large.

5 Those who have formed their idea of the vernacular educational system of the North-West from the Government Resolutions and Letters of the first Thomasonian period, are unaware of the radical change which that system underwent at a subsequent stage. Correct ideas of the Halqa Schools cannot be formed from mere paper statistics It is idle now to say that these schools are founded on the interests of the labouring agricultural classes, and that they are mainly attended by such classes. The interests on which these schools now stand, are, as has been already pointed out, the following :—

(1*st.*) A desire for small appointments, such as Patwaris, Mahurers, Panditships, &c., &c, among the middle classes.

(2*nd.*) A desire of pleasing the revenue authorities, who everywhere in those parts take considerable interest in the schools.

(*3rd.*) A vague hope of some good resulting from school attendance by learning to read and write, as well as attracting the notice of the authorities.

If the Civil authorities withdrew their interest from the schools, the only foundation for them to stand upon would be—

(*a.*) The fixed income from the cess fund.

(*b.*) The interest of the teachers, whose salaries depend upon the existence of the schools.

6. The conclusion then is, that the passion for service, natural to the circumstances of the people, which has acted in Bengal in favour of superior English education, is, in fact, the only active impulse on which the system of vernacular education has proceeded in the North-West. The difference is that while in the Lower Provinces the people have learnt to look up to comparatively higher and more responsible appointments as the reward of success at school, the people of the Upper Provinces have had held before them generally as their objects of ambition very inferior posts, the higher appointments to which natives are eligible in those parts being conferred on other considerations than those of success at school. Popular estrangement, therefore, from Government systems of education continues as great in those Provinces as ever.

7. It may be very well to talk of education for itself, and without any eye to ulterior advantages. But the question practically resolves itself into one of interests on the one hand, and of religious authority or of legislative compulsion on the other. An earnest man cannot shut his eyes to the facts of the case. He will remember that the indigenous education of India was founded on the sanction of the *shastras*, which elevated into religious duties and conferred dignity on the commonest transactions of every-day life. He will remember that the existence of village communities, which left not only their Municipal, but also in part their Revenue and Judicial administrations in the hands of the people themselves, greatly helped to spread education among all the different members of the community. He will see the fruits of the indigenous system in the numberless Patshalas, Chatsals, and Tols which still overspread the country, and which, however wretched their present condition, prove by their continued existence, in spite of neglect, contempt, and other adverse circumstances of a thousand years, the strong stamina they acquired at their birth. At the present day, he will see the religious sanction growing weak, the village communities nearly gone, manufacturing industry come to the verge of ruin, the heaviest incidence of taxation falling upon land, and a foreign language become the language of court and commerce. The natural incentives to popular education being thus weak, its progress, he must acknowledge, will depend on the efforts of an enlightened Government inclined to compensate to the people for their losses under foreign rule. Until a healthy political, economical, and social condition has been regained under the security of British administration, artificial stimulants must supply its place as well as they are able.

8. All talk, therefore, at this time of educating the people without holding forth inducements to them, is simply useless, and to speak of "educating the masses, and leaving them where they are," betrays an ignorance not only of the inherent and practical difficulties of the question of mass education, but likewise an ignorance of the simplest principles of all sustained human action.

In Bengal proper, the interest in favour of vernacular education is far healthier among the middle classes than it is in the North-West. In order really to interest the masses, it will be necessary everywhere in Bengal, no less than in the North-West and the Panjab, to take measures calculated to open before the labouring classes such prospects as they can clearly see of securing increased efficiency and value to their labour by school attendance. But confining myself to the immediate object of my tour, I may venture to affirm, on the strength of a sincere conviction, and without calling in question the wisdom of the measures which have been set on foot in the different provinces, that the main features of the North-West system, which were first modified in the Panjab in two essential points, namely (1) the distribution of schools, and (2) the class interests they were founded upon; and again modified in Oudh as respects starting schools without providing competent teachers for them, require to be yet further altered to suit the circumstances of Bengal, (1) by leaving the village teachers to remain what they are, servants of the people, and not of Government; and (2) by providing means for the support of the schools from general, and not local or sectional taxation, nor from nominally voluntary contributions raised by local officers. An education tax will be the least unpopular of all taxes in Bengal.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

BHUDEB MUKHOPADHYAY,

Inspector of Schools

E. M. Lewr, Calcutta Central Press Company, Limited.